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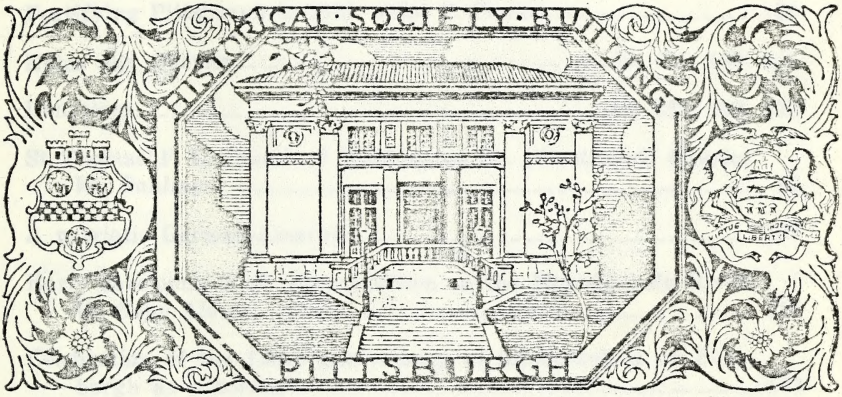

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CONTENTS

Page

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. *Burd S. Patterson* 1

Frontier policy of Pennsylvania. *George A. Cribbs* 5, 72, 174

Death of Rt. Rev. Mgr. A. A. Lambing. (illustrated) 36

Pennsylvania canals. *James Macfarlane* 38

Hon. Malcolm Hay and his collection of letters 52

In a colonial churchyard. (verse) *M. E. Buhler* 58

Fortifying Pittsburgh in 1863. *John P. Cowan* 59

Notes and Queries 65, 125, 199, 255

Donations 66, 129, 203, 252

St. Thomas' P. E. Church of Washington Co. (illustrated) *Charles W. Dahlinger* 69

A patriotic German-American 107

Early development of transportation on the Monongahela River. *W. Espy Albig* 115

Celebration of the 125th anniversary of incorporation of Pittsburgh as a borough 133

Addresses:

Charles W. Dahlinger 134

Chancellor S. B. McCormick 142

Harold M. Irons 143

Thomas A. Dunn 146

Dr. H. J. Webster 147

Pittsburgh authors. *Prof. Horace R, Thayer* 149

Population of Pittsburgh . . . as shown by U. S. census of 1790 161

Pittsburgh's first burying-ground. *Charles W. Dahlinger* 205

Andrew Carnegie 237

An Indian love song. (verse) *Willard Wattles* 239

Life and times of William Findley. *Robert M. Ewing* 240

Index 259

X 106857

CONTENTS

Page

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. Rend S. Peterson 1
Frontier policy of Pennsylvania. George A. Condon 72, 174
Death of Rt. Rev. Mgr. A. A. Lambing. (Illustrated) 55
Pennsylvania canals. James Stevenson 58
Hon. Malcolm Hay and his collection of letters 62
In a colonial churchyard. (verse) M. E. Butler 63
Portraying Pittsburgh in 1803. Asa P. Coates 65
Notes and Queries 65, 126, 194, 253
Donations 66, 128, 196, 255
St. Thomas' P. E. Church of Washington Co. (illustrated) Charles W. Dahlinger 69
A patriotic German-American 107
Early development of transportation on the Monongahela River. H. Zapp Ahlum 112
Celebration of the 125th anniversary of incorporation of Pittsburgh as a borough 153
Addresses:
Charles E. Dahlinger 154
Chancellor S. S. McCormick 156
Harold M. Ivens 159
Thomas A. Dean 160
Dr. H. J. Webster 167
Pittsburgh authors. Prof. Byron R. Tapper 168
Population of Pittsburgh . . . as shown by U. S. census of 1790 169
Pittsburgh's first burying-ground. Charles W. Dahlinger 185
Andrew Carnegie 187
An Indian love song. (verse) Willard Hallie 229
Life and times of William Findlay. Robert M. Fogle 234
Index 269

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 2, No. 1. January, 1919. Price, Cents.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Its History, Objects and Achievements.

By Burd S. Patterson

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania finding that its present building is entirely inadequate for its needs desires to make a large addition to the structure in accordance with the original plans. To that end it proposes to ask the present session of the legislature to appropriate a sufficient sum. The legislature of 1911 appropriated $25,000 to the society for the erection of the front portion of its building with the understanding that a much larger sum would be appropriated later on to complete the structure in accordance with plans then submitted.

The society desires to perform for the western section of the state the functions so well performed for the eastern portion by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. The latter organization has been firmly established for many years and has long been equipped with a commodious building and every necessary facility. It has received very properly from the state for its building the sum of $150,000. This is six times the amount received by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. The latter is in sore need of a big addition to its building. Already the latter is greatly overcrowded and donations of books and relics have had to be refused on this account. The auditorium is also entirely too small and a new one must be provided. With a building of proper size and equipment, the society can greatly increase its usefulness and it is hoped that the present legislature will make the needed appropriation to that end.

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. Subscription price, $1.00 per Annum to members of the Society when paid in advance with regular annual dues; to all others, $1.50 per Annum.

Since its reorganization in 1909 the society's membership has increased from 40 to about 700 men and women. It has erected a fine building on Bigelow Boulevard near Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, costing with the lot about $43,000. Of this amount $25,000 was received from the state of Pennsylvania and $10,000 from the Pittsburgh Sesqui-Centennial Committee and $5,000 from other sources leaving a balance still due of $3,000.

The society has collected about 1,500 volumes of books and pamphlets in its library. It has also several hundred interesting historical relics and pictures in its museum. Beginning January 1918 it has issued a quarterly magazine—the "Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine." The dues of the society including a subscription to the magazine are $3 a year. There is no initiation fee. All persons interested in the work of the society are eligible to membership. The rooms of the society are open to the public every week day from 9 a. m. to 5 p. m., Miss Emma D. Poole, the librarian being in charge. On Sundays they are open from 2 to 4 p. m. with the secretary in charge. On the last Tuesday of each month, except during the summer and Christmas holidays, the society holds meetings open to the public at which interesting historical papers are read. During the summer one or more pilgrimages are made to historic spots in Western Pennsylvania.

In 1911 the society fathered and managed the celebration of the centennial of steamboat navigation on the Western rivers. A feature of the celebration was the presence of William H. Taft at the christening by Mrs. Nicholas Longworth, of the replica of the first steamboat on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, the "New Orleans." About 300,000 persons witnessed the affair. The steamboat during the month of November made a voyage from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, carrying representatives of the Historical Society and of the city of Pittsburgh, which had appropriated the necessary money for the boat and the celebration. The party everywhere inculcated the study of history, advertised Pittsburgh and advocated the improvement of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and the construction of the Lake Erie and Ohio River Canal. The boat was visited by 75,000 school children and 100,000 men and women and viewed from the shores by multitudes.

In 1913 the society suggested and managed the celebration of the 125th anniversary of the organization of Allegheny County. In 1916 it originated and managed the centennial celebration of the creation of Pittsburgh as a city.

The chief feature was a great historical pageant at Forbes Field attended by 30,000 persons.

The society secured legislation permitting the County Commissioners and the City Council of Pittsburgh to appropriate money to the society on condition that it would provide a place for the public records. Accordingly each of these bodies has appropriated $1,000 annually for the last two years.

From August 1917 to October 1918 the society permitted the use of its first floor and basement by the women of the Red Cross who prepared a great quantity of supplies for our soldiers. Since October 1st the society has permitted the use of the first floor and part of the basement, the balance being used by the Red Cross, by the military students of the University of Pittsburgh. On the evening of December 2, 1918 the society entertained many of these students.

The society has been gathering relics and data of the World War and will assist in the compilation of the history of the conflict particularly the part taken by the soldiers and people of Western Pennsylvania. It has offered its building as the headquarters in the western part of the state for the War Historical Commission.

The first attempt to found a historical society in Pittsburgh was made in 1834. The organization existed for a few years and collected a library of several hundred volumes. The first officers were: Benjamin Bakewell, president, W. W. Fetterman, vice president, John A. Harper, treasurer, Wilson McCandless, secretary and Charles H. Kay, librarian. In 1841-42 the society was temporarily revived, the chief promoter being Rev. George Upfold, rector of Trinity Protestant Episcopal church. Upon his removal to Indianapolis to become the first Bishop of Indiana the organization ceased to exist.

On November 26, 1858, as a result of the centennial celebration of the taking of Fort Duquesne, a meeting was held at the Merchants Exchange, Pittsburgh to organize the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. W. M. Darlington presided at this meeting. On January 10, 1859, the society organized with the following officers: president, Wilson McCandless, vice president, James Veech, Fayette County, Rev. David H. Junkin, Blair County, Rev. William D. Howard, Neville B. Craig and H. M. Brackenridge, Allegheny County, secretary, Daniel L. Eaton, treasurer, Felix R. Brunot. The last meeting of this organization was on April 9, 1860 when Mr. Slagle reported that a charter had been granted to it. The Civil War doubtless caused the society's demise.

A few years after the close of the war the Old Residents Association was organized. This in 1879 was merged in the reorganized Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, which secured a charter in 1888. The successive presidents of this organization were John E. Parke, James P. Fleming, Daniel T. Johnston, Felix R. Brunot, C. S. Fetterman, Rev. A. A. Lambing and Thomas L. Rodgers. The secretaries were W. M. Gormley, James T. Sample, Rev. A. A. Lambing, Miss Jennie L. Lambing, William T. Lyon, Edgar W. Hassler and Edward E. Eggers.

This organization met at various places including Old City Hall, the Pittsburgh Carnegie Library and the Allegheny Carnegie Library. By 1908 it had been reduced to about a dozen active members and about thirty other nominal members. It had no permanent quarters and no library. The Sesqui-Centennial celebration of 1908 vastly increased popular interest in historical matters. As a consequence the men who had suggested and managed that celebration were asked to take charge of the historical society which in May, 1909, was organized with the following officers, the directors and trustees constituting the executive committee: president, Thomas L. Rodgers, vice presidents, Omar S. Decker, Rev. A. A. Lambing, Hon. George B. Orlady, Boyd Crumrine, Dr. S. B. McCormick, chairman executive committee, William H. Stevenson, directors, Gen. A. J. Logan, A. J. Kelly, Jr., Thomas J. Hawkins, Erasmus Wilson and W. G. Wilkins, trustees, Col. James M. Guffey, Edward M. Bigelow and Col., Thomas J. Keenan, secretary, Burd S. Patterson, corresponding secretary, Edward E. Eggers, treasurer, H. M. Landis. In 1911 President Rodgers died and was succeeded by William H. Stevenson who has since held the position.

The Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania

BY GEORGE ARTHUR CRIBBS

CHAPTER I.

INDIAN POLICY.
1682-1800.

William Penn's ideas of justice and humanity permitted but one Indian policy. His natural benevolence and the principles of his sect demanded a just and friendly treatment. Before leaving England he forwarded to those Indians dwelling in his province a letter expressing his friendly attitude toward them and his hope that he and they would always live together as neighbors and friends. He instructed his commissioners to be careful not to offend them, to court their good will, and let them know that the Christians had come to settle among them on terms of friendship. (1)

The Quaker's treatment of the Indians was always characterized by fairness and honor. In Pennsylvania alone could an Indian get satisfaction from a white man, for here only was the testimony of an Indian accepted against a white. In matters of trade the provincial government tried faithfully to guard the Indian against exploitation by the white man. In treaties, for the first fifty years at least, only open and honorable means were used to gain a point. And not only abstract justice, but friendly and kindly intercourse were encouraged. Penn learned their language in order that he might be able to converse with them more freely, and later sent his son to dwell among them that he might understand their language and customs. (2) The relationship between the Indians and the Quakers was, therefore, most cordial and friendly. Penn himself was a frequent visitor among them, partaking of their venison, hominy, and roasted acorns; and to their great delight, participating in their athletic exercises. The Indians responded at once to this treatment; and the early settlers found them

(1) *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, II, Part I, 218, Penn's Instructions to his Commissioners to settle the Province: "Be tender of offending the Indians, and hearken by honest Spyes, if you can hear yt any body inveigles ye Indians not to sell, or to stand off, and raise the value upon you. You cannot want those yt will inform you, but to soften them to mee and the people, lett them know yt you are come to sit down Lovingly among them."

(2) FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN, *Historical Review of Pennsylvania*, 97.

ever ready to provide food, assistance, or protection if it lay within their power. Former intercourse had taught them somewhat of the white man's injustice and insatiable desire for land, but they were still in a frame of mind to appreciate fair treatment and to return it in kind.

Penn attempted to carry his ideas of equality into the court room. The white man and the Indian were given the same legal standing and by written agreement between them were to be punished by the same laws. (1) If an Indian wronged a white man, the plaintiff was not allowed to take the law into his own hands. He must appeal to the nearest magistrate, who would then take up the affair with the chief of the Indian who had committed the wrong. If satisfaction was not obtained, proceedings were instituted against the Indian in the same manner as in the case of a white offender. If a white man wronged an Indian, he incurred the same penalty that was inflicted upon those who wronged a Christian. In such cases the Indian chief would complain to the governor. If investigation seemed to warrant it, the culprit was tried; and if found guilty, punished.

An attempt was made to have cases which involved both races tried by juries of six whites and six Indians, (2) but this was found impracticable and soon abandoned. A case was tried in the county in which the crime was committed, but in 1744 it was provided that all Indians accused of capital crimes committed within the province in places distant from the inhabitants should thereafter be tried in the County of Philadelphia before the justices of the supreme court or of the courts of Oyer and Terminer, and the expenses to be paid by the province as a whole and not by any particular county. These plans on the whole worked very satisfactorily, but neither whites nor Indians were always scrupulous about observing them. They were often inclined to take the law into their own hands, thus causing complications during which border warfare sometimes seemed certain.

The Quakers also aimed, as far as possible, to preserve peace between the various tribes. About 1719 a disagreement occurred between the northern and southern Indians.

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(1) MYERS, A. C., *Narratives of early Pennsylvania*, 276, reprinting Penn's *Further Account*: "If any of them break our laws they submit to be punished by them, and to this they have tyed themselves by an obligation under their hands."

(2) *Ibid*, 236, reprinting Penn's Letter to the Free Society of Traders "We have agreed in all differences between us six of each side shall end the matter: Don't abuse them but let them have justice and you win them."

The governor, in order to prevent evil consequences, went to Virginia where he arranged terms of settlement with the governor of that colony. After he returned, he held a treaty with several Indian tribes and prevailed upon them to accept the compromise. The Pennsylvania Indians were not to hunt in the mountains south of the Potomac and the southern Indians were not to come north of that river. (1)

Many treaties were made with the Indians during the early period of Pennsylvania's history. Any one who glances through the Colonial Records will see what a great percentage of time must have been given up to Indian affairs. Penn himself is said to have made treaties personally with nineteen different tribes. The most of these were confirmations of friendship or treaties for the purchase of land. At times, however, they involved the regulation of trade and intercourse or even the question of frontier defense.

A treaty of this latter type was that made with the Susquehanna Indians in 1701. (2) According to its terms neither side was to do the other any wrong or injury. Indians who came into the neighborhood of the white settlements were to behave themselves regularly according to the laws of the Christians. The Indians were not to aid or abet the enemies of the whites or believe any evil rumors concerning them, but report the same to the governor. They were not to allow any strange Indians to settle on the west side of the Susquehanna or about the Potomac without the governor's permission. All traders were to be approved and licensed by the government. The Indians were to deal with Pennsylvania traders only.

Until 1722 Indian expenses were inconsiderable, being limited to fifty pounds a year. (3) Great caution was always exercised in allowing more. In this year, however, a bill for 230 pounds was allowed to defray the expenses of Governor Keith's journey to Albany and the cost of the presents made to the Indians at that time. (4) From 1722 to 1727 no Indian expenses were paid from the provincial treasury. But in this latter year the assembly contested a bill for seventy pounds, one half of which was finally paid by the public and the remainder by the proprietors. (5) In 1728 the assembly requested Governor Gordon to hold a treaty with the Indians, the costs of which they promised

(1) PROUD. ROBERT, *History of Pennsylvania*, II, 198, 131.
(2) *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st series, I, 144.
(3) *Pennsylvania Statutes at Large*, II, 230.
(4) *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, IV, 194.
(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 198.

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Until 1722 Indian expenses were inconsiderable, being limited to fifty pounds a year. (3) Great caution was always exercised in allowing more. In this year, however, a bill for 280 pounds was allowed to defray the expenses of Governor Keith's journey to Albany and the cost of the presents made to the Indians at that time. (4) From 1723 to 1727 no Indian expenses were paid from the provincial treasury. But in this latter year the assembly voluntarily a bill for seventy pounds, one half of which was finally paid by the public and the remainder by the proprietors. (5) In 1728 the assembly requested Governor Gordon to hold a treaty with the Indians, the costs of which they promised

(1) Penn, Hoxer, History of Pennsylvania, II, 136, 137.
(2) Pennsylvania Archives, 1st series, I, 111.
(3) Pennsylvania Statutes at Large, II, 230.
(4) Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, IV, 104.
(5) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 128.

to pay. After this, expenses mounted rapidly higher and higher until in 1750 over one thousand pounds per year were being expended in this manner. (1)

As soon as Indian expenses became appreciable, a quarrel began between the assembly and the proprietors concerning their payment. The assembly argued that all former grants for this purpose had been considered as free gifts of the people and that they did not commit the government to a continuation of the policy. As long as treaties had been made primarily for the maintenance of friendly intercourse, no objections had been raised; but now it was becoming apparent that they were only the forerunners of land purchases, and for this reason the assembly maintained that the proprietors should bear a share of the expense. (2) The Penns objected on the grounds that they were already bearing their fair share of Indian expenses in other ways, such as paying interpreters and making purchases of land from which the inhabitants derived great benefit. They considered that they were no more obliged to contribute to the public treasury than the governors of other colonies. (3) The assembly, however, still argued that as the Penns were absolute proprietors of the soil, they should at least bear the expenses of treaties for the purchase of lands. Those for the maintenance of friendship might still be held at the expense of the public. But treaties of friendship and those of purchase were so inextricably bound together that it was found impossible to draw a dividing line between them. The assembly then resolved that the surest way out of the difficulty would be to request the proprietors to agree upon a certain proportion of all treaty expenses which would be assumed by them. (4) The contest had not yet been decided

(1) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 195.

(2) FRANKLIN, *Review*, 82. "But when it appeared, as in Course of Time was unavoidable, that a Treaty and a Purchase went on together; that the former was a Shoeing Horn for the latter, that the Governor only made the compliments, and the Assembly the Presents, & it could not but appear also, that there must be somewhat unfair in a Procedure where one paid all the cost, and the other engrossed all the Profit: and that it was high Time to put some Stop to a Practice so injurious to their Understandings."

(3) *Ibid*, 97.

(4) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 104. Resolve of Assembly: "That the Proprietaries Interests are so constantly intermixt with those of the Province in all Treaties with our Indian Allies, that we apprehend the surest Way to prevent Dissatisfactions on all Sides, will be to request the Proprietaries—(to agree upon a proportionate part to be paid by them)—as in justice they ought to do."

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(3) *Ibid*, 57.

(4) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 104. Resolve of Assembly: "That the Proprietaries Interests are so constantly interested in the Affairs of the Province in all Treaties with our Indian Allies, that we apprehend the Great Way to prevent Inconvenience on all Sides, will be to request the Proprietaries—to agree upon a proportionate part to be paid by them—as in justice they ought to do."

when the outbreak of the French and Indian War brought it to a close.

The chief objective of the Quaker's Indian policy was the maintenance of friendship. To this end his energy and his money were freely expended; for as long as the good will of the Indians could be retained, the frontier difficulties which vexed the other colonies would be greatly lessened, if not entirely avoided. It was, in his estimation, much better to prevent than to cure. The attitude of the assembly is briefly stated in one of their arguments against the acceptance of the proprietary proposal to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio River. "We have," they say, "seriously considered the offer made by our proprietaries toward building such a House; but as we have always found that sincere, upright Dealing with the Indians, a friendly Treatment of them on all occasions and particularly in relieving their necessities at proper Times by suitable Presents, have been the best means of securing their Friendship, we could wish our Proprietaries had rather though fit to join with us in the Expense of those presents, the Effects of which have at all Times so manifestly advanced their Interest with the security of our frontier Settlements." (1)

As is shown by this extract, the making of presents was the method in which the greatest faith was placed. It was this that caused the great increase in Indian expenses during the restless years from 1730 to 1750. As the Indians were found to be slipping away from the English interest, the number and value of the presents were gradually increased in a vain attempt to hold them true. It was for the purpose of carrying such a present that Conrad Weiser made his journey to the Ohio in 1748. In the following year George Croghan was sent with a small gift to the Twightwees, in company with Alexander Montour, the interpreter. On their way they met Christopher Gist who had been sent by the governor of Virginia to summon the Indians to meet at Logstown the next spring, to receive a present from the king. (2) This, then, was the customary method of bidding for the Indian's favor.

While Croghan was at the Twightwee town delivering the present and the governor's message, several chiefs of the tribes living on the Wabash River appeared and asked to be admitted into the chain of friendship with the English and the Iroquois. Croghan, considering that such an alliance would be of great advantage to the colony and extend

(1) *Colonial Records*, V, 547.
(2) O'CALLAGHAN, E. B., *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 623.

the English interest among the Indians, granted the request; concluded treaties of friendship with them; and made each a small present. But on his return the assembly, with their usual jealousy of any attempt to anticipate in any way their action in money matters, repudiated his action and condemned him for bringing an additional expense upon the government. They seemed to lack entirely any appreciation of the situation into which the province was rapidly plunging, for at this most critical point they refused to extend their interest by the very policy which they considered most effective in gaining and holding the Indian's friendship.

Presents were also made at times to console them for losses which they had suffered in the English interest, such as the death of several Twightwee warriors in defending some English traders against the French. Money was also raised sometimes to placate them when they had become incensed on account of injuries. This was done in 1768 after the murder of ten Indians by a frontier settler named Frederick Stump. (1)

Private satisfaction was made to them in the same way. In 1794 a young man named Robertson killed an Indian in Western Pennsylvania by striking him with a club. The father of the murderer sent an agent to deal with the Indians. When the latter appeared, all the Indians of the neighborhood collected about him. His offer of about one hundred dollars to pay for the man who had been killed was considered highly satisfactory, and some of the Indians even seemed disappointed that is was not their relative who had been killed, as they were missing a share of so large an indemnity. (2)

Considerable sums, too, were paid at various times to provide for the wants of friendly Indians, particularly when these wants had arisen on account of their attitude toward the English. In 1755, for example, five thousand pounds were voted by the assembly to be expended by seven commissioners for the relief and supplying of settlers and friendly Indians who had been driven from their homes by attacks upon the frontier. (3)

Assistance against their enemies was never held out as an enticement for the Indians to ally themselves with the provincial government. Such would have been inconsistent with the Quaker's principles. But during the French and Indian War it was found necessary to erect houses at Wy-

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., III, 380.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., VI, 738.

(3) *Statutes at Large*, V, 211.

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(1) Pa. Arch., 4th ser., III, 326.
(2) Pa. Arch., 2nd ser., VI, 128.
(3) Statutes at Large, V, 217.

oming for the reception and protection of the Indian allies of the province. (1)

Fair, open, and honest dealing was also considered an excellent means of holding the affection and adherence of the Indians; but the working of this policy was greatly hindered, or we may say almost entirely prevented, by the action of the white traders who refused to be bound by governmental regulations. (2) When once they had gone into the woods where supervision was practicably impossible, their dealing with the Indians was often far from fair and honest.

Agents who understood the Indians' character and whose personal influence was strong were sent to deal with them. The most prominent among these was Conrad Weiser, a German, who had migrated with his father to New York when he was fourteen years of age. Here they lived for four years on the Livingston Manor, then removed to Scholarie where Conrad became acquainted with the Mohawks, was adopted into their tribe, and lived among them for a number of years. In 1729 he joined a group of Germans who were migrating from New York to Pennsylvania by way of the Susquehanna River. (3) With his wife and five children he settled in what was then Lancaster County about a mile east of the present site of Womelsdorf, and soon became an important personage among his countrymen who had settled in this vicinity. He was first employed as an interpreter about two years after his arrival and allotted forty shillings for his services. He acted thereafter as official interpreter and the government's most trusted agent in Indian affairs.

Second to Weiser only, and not second even to him among the western Indians, was George Croghan. He was born in Ireland and educated at Dublin, but at an early age migrated to Pennsylvania and settled on the west bank of the Susquehanna, (4) nearly opposite Harris's Ferry, in the township of Pennsboro which was at that time upon the frontier of the province. His love of travel and adventure soon attracted him to the Indian trade in which he appeared as far west as Sandusky, Ohio, in 1746. (5) He gained great influence

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 929. Governor Denny to Assembly: "Teedyuscung has renewed his Request to have the Houses finished at Wyoming, for which this Government stands engaged."
(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 748.
(3) THWAITES, RUBEN GOLD, *Early Western Travels*, I, 17.
(4) *Col. Rec.*, II, 34.
(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 742; Col. Rec., V, 72, 139.

with the western Indians and won to an English alliance many of the wavering French adherents. He soon attracted the attention of Conrad Weiser by whom he was recommended to the government. Thus he was introduced into the public service in which he continued for the remaining active years of his life.

Such was the Quaker plan for securing peace upon the frontier. For fifty years it was successful but not much longer. The question now arises as to why it failed. The various answers which have been given will be discussed later. But it may be well to observe at this point that had all these plans been followed ever so closely, the general policy was still doomed to ultimate failure. It was only while whites were few and land was plenty that it could succeed. When the Indian once saw that he was being gradually driven out of the province, no presents however extensive, no treatment however kind, no agent however adept could make him content. When once he saw how affairs were tending, he was bound to resist.

About 1735 a definite change took place in the Indian policy of the provincial government. More and more attention was thereafter given to the Six Nations because they were becoming a very important ally against the growing power of the French. The Delawares and Shawanese, who were now living upon the Ohio, were ignored. They were no longer welcome at Philadelphia and attempts were even made to stop their coming. (1) Their masters, the Six Nations, were called in to drive them from the lands claimed by virtue of the notorious Walking Purchase. Such treatment, so very different from that which they had formerly received, was a great blow to their pride, and they treasured it up in their memories as one more score to be avenged. The English and the Indians were thus drifting rapidly apart; friendship was being superceded by hatred.

The English were unlucky in the fact that at the point where contact was most frequent the worst characters among them appeared. (2) The trader who went among the Indians was not a fair representative of the white settlers.

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(1) HAZARD, SAMUEL, *Register of Pennsylvania*, IV, 205.

(2) THOMPSON, CHARLES, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest*, 56. "It would be too shocking to describe the Conduct and Behavior of the Traders, when among the Indians, and endless to enumerate the Abuses the Indians had received and born from them for a Series of Years. Suffice it to say, that several of the Tribes were at last weary of bearing."

He was inclined to be restless, shiftless, and dissolute. He cheated consistently, he sometimes murdered the warriors and often debauched their wives. Yet it was from him that the Indian formed his estimate of the white man's character.

The conduct of the frontiersman, too, was often not above reproach. He was inclined to look upon the Indian as little more than an animal to be shot down with as little impunity as any other denizen of the forest. Many an innocent red man fell a victim of these white savages. One of the most notorious cases was the murder by Frederick Stump of ten Indians in January, 1768. Six of these, four men and two women, came to his house drunk and disorderly on the tenth of the month. Fearing that they would do him some harm he killed them all and concealed their bodies beneath the ice of the creek near the house. Then afraid that news might be carried to the other Indians, he went the next day to some cabins about fourteen miles from his home; killed the woman, two girls, and a child whom he found there; put their bodies into the cabins; and set them afire. (1) The murderer with his servant, John Ironcutter, was detected, arrested, and confined in the jail at Carlisle. But on January 29, about two o'clock in the morning, a mob of seventy or eighty armed men broke into the jail and carried them away in triumph. (2)

Such was the frontiersman's viewpoint. (3) He painted Indian character in the blackest and most baleful shades in order the more easily to justify the wrongs that were commonly done them. It was always difficult to bring a defendant to justice on account of the difficulty of proving the crime as well as on account of the assistance that was invariably given him, whenever it was possible, by his friends and neighbors.

But while there was this negative power repelling the Indians from the English, there was also a positive power drawing them to the French. When the latter first appeared upon the American continent, they had gained the enmity of the Iroquois by espousing the cause of their enemies. The French tried in vain to subdue them. When the English appeared, the Five Nations were, therefore, their natural allies. The Indians invited them to aid in destroying the infant colony of Canada while it was a comparatively easy task, but the English turned to them a deaf ear. The French, finding at last that the Iroquois could not be subdued, chang-

(1) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 414.
(2) *Ibid*, 448.
(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 770, 773; VI, 822.

ed their tactics and attempted to gain by kindness and favors what they had failed to win by force. In this they were more successful. (1) Able agents were employed whose zeal was so much superior to that of the English agents and commissioners that the latter were held in almost universal contempt. The Indians gradually withdrew from the English interest on account of the unfavorable view which they The French, too, seemed to be more able to attract and hold were beginning to form of English integrity and ability. their good will. They entered more easily into their manner of living, married squaws, and became veritable savages. The Indians looked upon them as more nearly akin to themselves, and put more trust in them than in any other Europeans. (2)

"The English," says a contemporary pamphleteer, "in order to get their lands, drive them as far from them as possible, nor seem to care what becomes of them, provided they can get them removed out of the way of their permanent Settlements; whereas the French, considering that they can never want land in America, who enjoy the Friendship of the Indians, use all the Means in their Power to draw as many into their alliance as possible; and, to secure their affection, invite as many as can to come and live near them, and to make their Towns as near the French settlements as they can." (3)

About 1728, or possibly earlier, they began their attempts to dissuade the Delawares and Shawanese from their friendship for the English. The latter tried to frustrate the tempters by persuading the Shawanese to move eastward from the Ohio and by excluding French agents from western Pennsylvania. But all efforts were fruitless. A Frenchman came every spring to trade with the Allegheny Indians, and particularly with the Shawanese. The Governor of Canada sent a blacksmith to work for them free of charge, (4) which pleased them so highly that on his de-

(1) PARKMAN, FRANCIS, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, III, Appendix A2, Cadwallader Colden to the Earl of Halifax: "After the peace of Utrecht, the French changed their measures. They took every method in their power to gain the Friendship of the Five Nations, and succeeded so well with the Senecas, who are by far the most numerous, and at the greatest distance from us, that they were entirely brought over to the French interest. The French obtained the consent of the Senecas to the building of the Fort at Niagara, situated in their country."

(2) ZEISBERGER, DAVID, *History of the North American Indians*, 122.

(3) THOMPSON, *Causes of Alienation*, 48.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 301.

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(2) ZEISBERGER, DAVID, *History of the North American Indians*, 122.

(3) THOMPSON, *Causes of Alienation*, 48.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 201.

parture they made him a present of skins to the value of ten pounds.

Before the French and Indian War many Indians were inclined to look upon the English as a counterpoise to the power of the French and therefore remained their steady friends. But after the reduction of Canada they began to look upon them in an entirely different light. (1) The English now held the forts which controlled the Great Lakes and the rivers communicating with them. The Indians looked with jealousy upon these for they imagined that they could see in every little garrison the germ of a future colony which foretold only too clearly the day of their own expulsion.

The most fundamental cause—the cause that would inevitably have brought on a struggle had all others been absent—was, therefore, the usurpation by the whites of the Indians' land. The assembly laid the whole blame at the door of the proprietors. "The Causes of the Present Indian Incursions on the Province," they say in 1757, "have arisen, in a great Measure, from the exorbitant purchases made, or supposed to be made, of the Indians." (2) They were especially dissatisfied with the Albany Purchase of 1754. In fact it was considered fraudulent throughout, and was practically recognized as such by the proprietors in redeeding the tract to the Indians. The Walking Purchase, although of a date somewhat remote, doubtless still lingered in the Indian's mind and helped to swell the general impression of English rapacity. The vast grant of land by the king to the Ohio Company also fostered discontent as did the frequent settlement of squatters upon lands which had not yet been released. The real cause, however, cannot be found in any individual purchase or specific event, but only in the steady, irresistable progress of the whites. After all the lesser causes of irritation have been brushed aside, we must look upon the Indian wars as an inevitable struggle between an inferior race in possession of the soil and a superior race which was gradually usurping it.

Turning from the political and military aspects of the Indian policy, I shall now review the various attempts to

(1) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 603. George Croghan to the Board of Trade: "The Indians before the late war, or the conquest of Quebeck considered us in the light of a Counterpoise to the power of the French, their ancient Enemies, and were steady Friends to the English on that account; but since the reduction of Canada, they consider us in a very different and less favorable light—."

(2) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 728.

convert them to the principles of civilization and Christianity. To do this was usually set forth as one of the chief objects of colonization; but in most cases it was acted upon, if at all, in a very dilatory manner. In Pennsylvania, however, considerable effort was made, particularly by the Quakers and Moravians, to convert and civilize them.

The missionary was compelled to work under great difficulties. The Indians, as any other race, were closely attached to their own traditions and not inclined to embrace a new belief which they were unable to comprehend. (1) The white man, too, it was observed, did not live according to the teachings of his own doctrine. He was very willing to take advantage of the Indian in trade, and sometimes committed crimes of a more heinous nature. The missionary was also at times obliged to work through the unsatisfactory means of an interpreter. It was only he who spent a considerable time with the Indians who was able to gain a working knowledge of their language.

The Indian believed in a Supreme Being or Great Spirit who had created Earth, man, and all things about him. This belief had been handed down from generation to generation. Penn liked to assume that it could be traced back to the Lost Tribes of Israel from whom he conceived that they had descended. They did not presume to know the dwelling place of their god or attempt to solve his mysteries. But somewhere in the indefinite future, they held, lay the happy hunting ground where the warrior who had lived a virtuous life and refrained from theft, murder, and immorality would ultimately take up his abode; where game was plenty and the hunter never knew fatigue; where he would live a life of superfluity, joy, and dancing.

They had no conception of a hell. It was punishment enough for him who had lived an evil life to be denied an entrance into the abode of happiness. Throughout eternity be was obliged to wander about, sad, discontented. (2) The Indians, they said, within whose hearts was written the word of God had no necessity for a bible, but one had been given to the whites on account of their wickedness.

They had their own traditional manners and customs, which they were by no means inclined to change. They believed that the white and the red man had been created by the same Great Spirit but that each had been given a different employment. The whites were charged with the cultivation of the soil while the Indians were given the more

(1) HOLM, T. C., *Description of the Province of New Sweden*, 140.
(2) ZEISBERGER, *Indians*, 128.

noble employment of hunting the wild beasts of the forest. They considered it contrary to the will of the deity that they should adopt the white man's manner of life and pointed to nature for their proof. (1) Each animal, they said, deer, bear, or rabbit, had its own characteristic habits; and no one ever observed one of them giving up its own habits to adopt those of another. They held that the same principle applied to whites and Indians.

Falckner, who visited Pennsylvania about the close of the seventeenth century, recognized the difficulty of coming into influential relationship with them on account of the differences of race, custom, and language. He believed that, in order to obtain any important results, it would be necessary to plant colonies of whites near their centers of population. (2) Strange to say, he suggests bringing up some of their children in the knowledge of the German or English tongue rather than that the missionary should acquaint himself with theirs. (3)

But the greatest obstruction to Christianization, excepting possibly the religious inertia which is inherent in any people, was the bad example set by the English. While the missionary was teaching the doctrines of Christ, the traders and other frontier inhabitants were absolutely controverting them; and it was from these, as has been pointed out in dealing with the causes of alienation, that the Indian formed his opinion of the white man's character. They soon became so convinced that most white men were evil at heart that they were inclined to turn their backs in disdain upon the missionary. (4)

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(1) Heckewelder, John, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States*, 121.

(2) Falckner, Daniel, *Curiouse Nachricht von Pennsylvania*, 127.

(3) *Ibid*, 123. "If some of them could only have been brought up on the already mentioned lines, so that they understood the English or German tongue, then we could lead them to a knowledge of God through the story of the first creation, and then by daily intercourse with them strengthen them, until God grants us further opportunity to show them greater confidence."

(4) Thompson, *Causes of Alienation*, 56. "And as these Traders were the persons who were in some Sort the Representatives of the English among the Indians, and by whom they were to judge of our Manners and Religion, they conceived such invincible Prejudices against both, particularly against our holy Religion that when Mr. Sergeant, a Gentlemen in New England, took a journey in 1741 to the Shawanese, and some other Tribes living on Susquehannah, and offered to instruct them in the Christian Religion, they rejected his offer in Disdain. They reproached Christianity. They told him the Traders would lie, cheat, and debauch their Women, and even their Wives, if their Husbands were not at home."

"And yet," Heckewelder reports them as saying, "these white men would always be telling us of their great Book which God had given to them, they would persuade us that every man was good who believed in what the Book said, and every man was bad who did not believe in it. They told us a great many things, which they said were written in the Book and wanted us to believe it all. We would probably have done so, if we had seen them practice what they pretended to believe, and act according to the good words which they told us. But no! while they held their big Book in one hand, in the other they had murderous weapons, guns and swords, wherewith to kill us, poor Indians! Ah! and they did so too, they killed those who believed in their Book, as well as those who did not. They made no distinction." (1)

This criticism naturally does not apply to the Quakers. They labored faithfully to promote justice as well as to improve the Indian's physical, intellectual, and religious condition. Penn himself was much concerned in their spiritual welfare and while he was in the province labored zealously to improve it. Before the founding of the colony George Fox and other Quaker missionaries had preached to them, and very soon after that event joint religious meetings of Quakers and Indians were held. Attempts were also made to teach them some of the principles of civilized life. They were instructed in the barbarity of torture and in the evil effects of war. (2) They were furnished with agricultural implements and taught how to till the soil in a more skillful manner. (3)

The Moravians, however, were the most energetic and successful missionaries. They began their activities in Pennsylvania about 1740, from which time until the end of the century they were constantly active. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War a number of converts were already living with them at Bethlehem. (4) Under the name of the *Society of the United Brethren for propagating the gospel among the heathen* they were incorporated by a law of the commonwealth. (5)

The Moravians, however, were not alone in their labors. The *Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge* was also active. Its most important missionary in Pennsylvania was David Brainerd. He had studied three years

(1) HECKEWELDER, *Indian Nations*, 188.

(2) *Col. Rec.*, III, 79.

(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 47.

(4) *Ibid*, II, 761.

(5) *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 71.

at Yale and worked for some time at an Indian settlement near Stockbridge, Massachusetts, before taking up his labors at the forks of the Delaware in 1744. In the autumn of the year he visited the Susquehanna Indians and the next summer transferred to New Jersey where he met with the greatest success, baptising seventy-eight Indians. On the twentieth of March, 1747, after only three years of labor, he died at the home of Johnathan Edwards from pulmonary consumption brought on by exposure and hardship. (1)

The Presbyterians occasionally sent out itinerant missionaries, but seem to have established no permanent missions. Mr. Beatty, one of these missionaries, visited the frontier of Pennsylvania in 1776. The Indians were very attentive and seemed to desire instruction in religion, many coming to seek it individually; but the practical results of the trip were negligible. His journal shows that Mr. Beatty's hope was based upon the interest which the Indians showed and not upon actual conversions. (2)

He has left us the following description of one of his missionary services near Muskingum. "At eleven o'clock, or a little after, one of the council came to our hut, in order to conduct us to the Council House, where his majesty lives. A considerable number of men and women attended.

"I began divine worship by singing part of a psalm, having previously explained the general drift and meaning of it to them. (Psalmody, by the way, is exceedingly pleasing to the Indians.) I then prayed, and the interpreter repeated my prayer to them in their own language.

"I then preached to them from the parable of the prodigal son, Luke, XV, 11. By way of introduction, I gave some short account of man's primative happy state—then of the fall— how all mankind were concerned therein, and effected by it—and that, this the bible taught us, and sad experience and observation abundantly confirmed. I then illustrated our sad condition, particularly by the prodigal son, and showed what hopes of mercy and encouragement there were for us to return to God, the father, through Christ." (3)

(1) EDWARDS, JOHNATHAN, *Memoirs of David Brainerd*, 5.

(2) BEATTY, CHARLES, *Journal*, "Upon the whole, there really appears a strange, nay, a strong desire prevailing in many of these poor heathens, after the Knowledge of the gospel, and the things of God, and a Door, as we before observed, to be effectually opening, or, rather, already opened for carrying to them the glad tidings of salvation, so that, if now proper measures were vigorously pursued, there is much reason to hope that the blessing of God might attend and crown attempts of this kind with success."

(3) BEATTY, *Journal*, 54-55.

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Some efforts were also made to instruct them in the fundamentals of reading, writing, and husbandry. At times they requested such instruction. In 1758, for example, Teedyuscung made a second request for ministers and school masters. (1) Although the government had promised to supply them, the promise had not been kept. (2)

After the Revolution we find provisions made at various times for the education of some of those Indians who still remained in or near the province. In 1791 the Quakers received and agreed to teach at their own expense two Seneca boys. They were to instruct them in reading, writing, and husbandry, "and especially to teach them to love peace." (3)

The government also at times assumed such expense. In 1795 an act was passed to provide for the education of John Metaxen, one of the Stockbridge tribe of Oneida Indians. It empowered the governor to furnish the said Indian at public expense with suitable lodging, clothing, and entertainment for a term not exceeding two years, and to place him in such school or schools during this period as he, the governor, might think proper. Three hundred dollars were appropriated for the purpose. (4) Again in 1797 provision was made for the education of John Konapat, another youth of the same tribe, and two hundred dollars appropriated for the purpose. (5)

The results of these efforts were by no means as great as could be wished, but they were still attended by some good results. Teedyuscung states that Indians lived better lives after their conversion than they had done before. (6) A number of Christian Indians who visited Philadelphia during the French and Indian War abstained entirely from the use of liquor and behaved themselves in an orderly and commendable manner. They expressed a great abhorrence of war and wondered much that the Christians were such

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VIII, 47.
(2) *Ibid*, IX, 8.
(3) *Some Transactions between the Indians and Friends in Pennsylvania in* 1791 & 1792.
(4) *Statutes at Large*, XV, 295.
(5) *Ibid*, XV, 514.
(6) *Col. Rec.*, VIII, 48. "You are wise men, You tell us the Christian Religion is Good, and we believe it to be so, partly from the Credit of your Words and partly because we see that some of our brother Indians who were wicked before they became Christians, Live better Lives now than they formerly did."

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great warriors rather than lovers and cultivators of peace. (1)

The efforts of the Moravians were attended by the greatest success but they had probably baptised considerable less than a thousand Indians when their labors were disturbed by the Revolution. Several tribes, however, had received some instruction in the arts of civilization. Their Ohio colonies were flourishing. Here they dwelt peaceably and quietly together under the supervision of their teachers and ministers. (2) Their cabins and wigwams were neat and comfortable; their cornfields were well tilled. Nearby stood the church and the schoolhouse where they were taught the arts of peace and industry.

But under the very thin veneer of civilization was still an Indian. The inheritance of centuries could not be neutralized in a single lifetime. The Indian child brought up in all the white man's traditions and habituated to all his customs relapsed inevitably to the life of his ancestors if he but once visited his relatives and felt the irresistable charm of the camp fire by a mountain stream and experienced for a time the unrestrained freedom of a forest life.

(1) PROUD. *History of Pennsylvania*, II, 320.
(2) DARLINGTON, MRS. MARY C., *Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier*, 241.

CHAPTER II.
INDIAN TRADE.
1680-1770.

It is with considerable trepidation that I take up the subject of the Indian trader, because any account that can be given of him and his work must be unsatisfactory. He was a man of the woods and the pack horse trail, not a man of the pen. The sources of our information are, therefore, untrustworthy. They are for the most part laws made for the regulation of trade and the opinions of outsiders who were not acquainted with the actual conditions.

When the province came under his control, Penn decided that the Indians should be treated with fairness and honesty, that there should be no monopoly of trade by any person or company, and that they should be furnished only with those things which were beneficial. Before he came to the colony he wrote them a letter in order to open negotiations for a commercial treaty which would work to the advantage of both nations. (1) He was offered in June, 1681, six thousand pounds, together with a handsome annuity, for a monopoly of the trade between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers. But although he was much in need of funds, he refused the offer because such a monopoly would take the control of trade out of his hands and subject the Indians to the machinations and corruption of a selfseeking commercial company. (2)

The fur trade of Pennsylvania grew so rapidly that by 1686 the authorities of New York began to fear that New York City and Albany would be depopulated. (3) A year later, on account of the continued encroachments upon their trade, they recommended to the king that all of Pennsylvania north of the falls of the Susquehanna should be joined to that province. (4) Nearly all the white inhabitants along the frontier bartered more or less with their Indian neighbors. Then of course there were those who made this their

(1) JANNEY, S. M., *Life of William Penn*, 196.
(2) *Mem. Pa. Hist. Soc.*, I, 212.
(3) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, 416. Governor Dongon's Report: "I am now informed that the people of Pennsylvania have had last year from the Indians, upwards of 200 packs of beaver down to the Skonshill and will have more this as I have reason to believe, which if not prevented, his Mty must not expect this Government can maintain itself, besides that it will wholly depopulate this Town & Albany.
(4) *Ibid*, 424.

chief occupation. James Logan reported to Governor Keith in 1719 that the Indian trade probably amounted to 40,000 pounds sterling per year. (1) In 1748 there were about twenty English traders at Logstown on the Ohio River. (2) The chief trading house here was that of George Croghan whose activities will be described later in this chapter.

As the Indians became gradually more hostile, they began to place obstructions in the way of the traders. They complained that roads were cut through their country and houses built without first having obtained their consent. (3) Then backed by the French they began to arrest and carry to Canada those who passed into the contested territory about the Ohio. In 1752 John Pattin was captured and carried finally to France. (4) After three months imprisonment he at last obtained his liberty through the intervention of friends, but was unable to gain the restitution of his confiscated goods. During the next year four men trading west of the Ohio were arrested and subjected to practically the same treatment. (5) The traders had by this time established posts on Lake Erie, on the Ohio River, and as far west as the Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami.

During the Indian wars, as has just been intimated, the losses of the traders were sometimes very high. George Croghan lost in 1756 150 pounds at his Muskingum post alone. (6) Two men in his employ were among those arrested and carried to France. The firm of Moynton, Wharton, and Morgan, which was extensively engaged in the western trade, was a heavy loser in 1763. The combined loss of all traders in this year was 85,000 pounds. (7) In 1774 William Wilson, a fur trader of Pittsburgh, with a great deal of difficulty escaped from the western woods leaving behind him nearly fifty horse loads of peltry. (8)

Soon after the conclusion of the French and Indian wars trade resumed its former prominence. A considerable proportion of it was carried on from Pennsylvania westward by the channel of the Ohio, and northward by the Allegheny River to Le Boeuf and Lake Erie. (9) Until the outbreak of Dunmore's War free intercourse was kept up between the

(1) HAZARD, *Register*, III, 212.
(2) THWAITES, *Early Western Travels*, I, 28.
(3) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 870.
(4) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 235.
(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 233.
(6) GIST, CHRISTOPHER, *Journals*, 108.
(7) *Ibid*, 241.
(8) BYARS, W. V., *The First American Movement West*, 27.
(9) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VIII, 26.

red men and the white, the Indians often visiting the settlements and the whites going far into the forest with their goods to exchange for pelts. Before the Revolutionary War Carlisle was the chief center of Indian trade; after that war Pittsburg, which had since 1763 been encroaching rapidly upon the older city, became the more prominent of the two. (1) This transfer of importance was inevitable on account of the Indians being driven gradually westward.

In the more northern colonies beaver skins occupy the most important place in Indian trade; but these, on account of their scarcity, were superceded in Pennsylvania by other products of the forest. Bear, moose, and deer skins; martin, otter, fox, and other furs; turkeys, game, and fish were in the early days brought down to Philadelphia and exchanged for powder, lead, blankets, cooking utensils, and brandy, or sold for wampum. (2) The Indians preferred wampum to silver money because they were acquainted with its value and could not easily be cheated in its use.

Zeisberger tells us that in his time the Indians for their pelteries received from the traders "powder, lead, rifle-barraled guns—for other weapons they do not value—blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, callemanco (calico), knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles,—these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything —bracelets, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools." (3) The goods for the Indian trade came chiefly from England and the skins and furs for which they were traded in turn found their way to that country. (4)

The traders were mostly frontier inhabitants who, having gained some knowledge of the Indian language and standing in need of money, were easily induced to engage in such undertakings. (5) The following description of them has been left by a contemporary: "The river (Ohio) flows quietly and evenly. Boats are going back and forth; even now one is coming, laden with hides from Illinois. The people on board are wearing clothes made of woolen bed blankets. They are laughing and singing after the manner of the French, yet as red as Indians, and almost the antipodes of their fatherland." (6)

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(1) *Olden Time*, edited by N. B. Craig, II, 339.
(2) MYERS, *Narratives*, 382, 426.
(3) ZEISBERGER, *Indians*, 118.
(4) FRANKLIN, *Works*, III, 481.
(5) HANNA, C. A., *The Wilderness Trail*, I, 3.
(6) HULBERT, A. B., *Historic Highways of America*, XII, 87.

The most enterprising among the Pennsylvania traders, who as a class were noted for their enterprise, was George Croghan, the "king of the traders." He came to America from Ireland in 1741 and within a few years took out a license to trade. In 1753, compelled by approaching bankruptcy, he deserted the settled parts of the province and established a trading post near the Juniata River. His letters and journals furnish us almost the only reliable information upon the trader's life.

The ordinary trader, however, was far below Croghan in character. The traffic, on account of the great opportunity for unlicensed action and dishonest gain, attracted a disreputable class of men whom Penn and his successors tried in vain to eliminate. The escape from civilization and any sort of efficient governmental control gave free scope to all their basest passions and desires. Drunkenness, dishonesty, bloody quarrels, and debauchery of the Indian women were common, while cases of murder were occasionally reported. There was constant danger that these abuses would involve the province in war with the Indians. "I cannot but be apprehensive," wrote Governor George Thomas to the assembly in 1744, "that the Indian trade as it is now carried on will involve us in some fatal quarrel with the Indians. Our Traders in defiance of the Law carry Spirituous Liquors amongst them, and take the Advantage of their inordinate Appetite for it to cheat them out of their skins and their wampum, which is their Money, and often to debauch their wives into the Bargain. Is it to be wondered at then, if when they Recover from the Drunken fit, they should take severe revenges?" (1)

The assembly in 1754 expressed their opinion of the traders in clear and comprehensible terms. "We are now to join with the Governor, in bewailing the miserable Situation of the Indian Trade, carried on (some few excepted) by the vilest of our Inhabitants, and Convicts imported from Great Britain and Ireland, by which means the English Nation is unhappily represented among our Indian allies in the most disagreeable manner. These trade without Control, either beyond the Limits, or at least beyond the Power of our Laws, supplied as we are informed, by some of the magistrates who hold a Commission under this Government, and the other Inhabitants of our back Counties." (2)

Charles Williams, an early settler in Ohio, has left us an account of his methods of trade. "After some time I moved

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 854.
(2) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 287.

up the River where I came from—Carpenter's Station, Short Creek. Then had money, two horses. Then peace with the Ingens. I thought I would pay them up for what damage they had done me, stealing horses. And following them many miles, went out to New Cumer's Town. There I and three more persons fell in with thirty or forty Ingens. Give them a small cag of whiskey and keep one to trade on. They got pretty high soon, and came to take my bread, and got hold of the bag and run; but I soon over hauled him and took it away from him. Soon after they come to get more whiskey, and I sold them for one dollar a quart, one third water. Then I was paying them up. In two or three days I got done trading, and went home in fine heart, thinking what I would do next trip. Soon started out, with several horses loaded with articles for trade; one horse load with whiskey, as it would make two horse loads (after being watered). Come to the camp. Plenty of Ingens there, hungry for trade. I made a good trade for myself." (1)

The Indian was naturally unable to trade advantageously with the more experienced white. He was usually worsted in the bargain and often complained of it to the provincial government. But on account of the difficulties of supervision the evils could not be entirely prevented. Each continued to make the best bargain that he could and each was left to guard his own interests. (2) The Indian was obliged to look out for himself. "If they can deceive the whites," says Zeisberger, "they do so with pleasure, for it is not easily done. They are delighted, also, if they succeed in purloining something. They are fond of buying on credit, promising to pay when they return from the chase. The traders may be willing to take the risk, hoping to control all the catch. But if the Indians, on their return, find other traders in the country, they barter with them and trouble themselves no longer over their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended, for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving goods away for nothing. Usually traders learn from their losses to give nothing or but little on credit. This is the safest course and there is no danger of arousing the enmity of the Indians. When war breaks out the traders are the first in danger,

(1) HANNA, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 310.
(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 433. Patrick to the Chiefs of the Five Nations: "As to Trade, they know 'tis the Method of all that follow it to buy as cheap and sell as dear as they can, and every man must make the best Bargain he can: the Indians cheat the Indians & the English cheat the English, & every man must be on his Guard."

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not only of losing their property but also their lives. When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret and take as many goods on credit as they can get; as soon as the war breaks out all debts are cancelled." (1)

After Pontiac's War the ministry drew up a plan to compel Indians to pay debts of fifty shillings or over upon pain of imprisonment. Franklin opposed it. (2) The Indians, he said, knew no such thing as imprisonment for debt; in fact they never imprisoned one another. If then the English attempted to imprison them, it would be generally disliked and occasion breaches. The valuation which they put upon personal liberty was so high and that upon personal property so low that imprisonment for a debt of a few shillings would appear extremely disproportionate. Debts of honor were generally as well paid as other debts. Where no compulsion could be used, it was considered the more disgraceful to be dishonest.

That contact with the traders had an evil effect upon the Indians is generally conceded by all who had any acquaintance with the situation. They had vices of their own, it is true, but from association with the outcasts of white society they could only add to them. "In treating of this subject," says Heckewelder, "I cannot resist the impression of a melancholy feeling, arising from the comparison which forces itself upon my mind of what the Indians were before the Europeans came into this country, and what they have become since, by a participation in our vices. By their intercourse with us, they have lost much of that original character by which they were once distinguished,—and the change which has taken place is by no means for the better." (3)

It was impossible to regulate Indian trade with any degree of thoroughness. The frontier was too extensive and the inhabitants too widely scattered. The Indians too did not always live in towns sufficiently large to encourage traders to live among them, but scattered about in families which shifted their situation as often as better hunting grounds seemed to entice them. (4) The government could not regulate the social and commercial intercourse of these scattered shifting peoples. It was also found impracticable

(1) ZEISBERGER, *Indians*, 117.
(2) FRANKLIN, *Works*, III, 480.
(3) HECKEWELDER, *Indian Nations*, 261.
(4) FRANKLIN, *Works*, III, 476.

to force the Indians to bring their furs to a central post when they could more easily and to better advantage dispose of them to their neighbors. Even if the province could have controlled the actions of her own traders, many nonresidents came in from Maryland, Virginia, and New York, who refused to abide by the trade laws of Pennsylvania. A law was enacted in 1693 forbidding nonresidents to trade within the province under penalty of fine and confiscation of goods. (1) It was re-enacted several times but could not be enforced as is attested by the many Indian complaints. (2) The very nearness of other colonies made it difficult to control the kind and amount of goods which the Indians should be allowed to purchase. If they were refused any kind of goods within the colony, it was generally quite easy to purchase them just over the border. In 1682 some Indians asked that the prohibition on the sale of rum be raised because it was sold in Newcastle and their young men went down there, bought it, and were more debauched than if they had been allowed to purchase it at home. (3)

Trade, therefore, was left practically free and unrestricted. Any one could engage in it by obtaining a license from the governor; many traded unmolested without licenses. This threw its conduct into the hands of a great number of individuals, more or less irresponsible, who, when once they were hidden by the forest, seemed to forget all laws of God and man. The conduct of the French trade stood out in direct contradistinction to this. In Canada the right to trade was farmed out to the highest bidder for the benefit of the government. The operations of the traders were generally restricted to certain posts at each of which was stationed a military commander with a number of soldiers. (4)

Penn's *Conditions and Concessions* provided that all trade with the Indian should be carried on in the market places, and that all goods should be carefully tested. If they were found good, they were to pass; but if not good, they were not to be sold for such. (5) In 1701 a scheme was suggested by the proprietor of forming a company into which all would be free to enter under obligation of observing and submitting to all rules and regulations which the government might make. This, however, never went into

(1) *Charter and Laws of Pennsylvania*, 240.

(2) *Col. Rec.*, V, 229; *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 425.

(3) HAZARD, SAMUEL, *Annals of Pennsylvania*, 531.

(4) HANNA, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 322.

(5) HAZARD, *Annals*, 518.

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(1) Charter and Laws of Pennsylvania, 240.
(2) Col. Rec., V, 229; Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 125.
(3) Hazard, Samuel, Annals of Pennsylvania, 531.
(4) Hanna, Wilderness Trad, II, 322.
(5) Hazard, Annals, 515.

effect. (1) Instructions were sometimes issued to the traders to govern them in their dealings with the Indians. (2) While these were faithfully observed by some, most traders altogether ignored them when once they had gone beyond governmental control.

The most efficient method developed for the regulation of trade was the licensing of traders. (3) After 1710 no one was allowed to trade without a license issued by the governor under penalty of imprisonment and forfeiture of goods; after 1715 each was put under bond to observe the trade laws. (4) Landholders, however, were allowed to buy for their own use and to sell their own produce at will. This law, like all others, was evaded. (5) But it was much easier to enforce than any other because the trader could be required to show his license at any point; and in case his character proved undesirable or his dealings dishonest, his license for the following year could be refused.

The Indian agent was the most important factor in the enforcement of all trade laws. In case unscrupulous traders imposed upon the Indians, it was he who informed the governor and attempted to bring the offender to justice. At times he staved the casks of liquor which had been illegally imported. In general he did his best to see that satisfaction was furnished to the offended. (6)

During the French and Indian War we should naturally expect all converse with the Indians to be stopped; but the assembly during this period kept pressing upon the governor a trade bill which he, on account of his instructions, persisted in amending. (7) The governor considered that it would be of no service, but the assembly believed that the Indians could be won back to the English interest by a continuation of friendly intercourse. They rejected several times the governor's amendments and returned the bill to him as it originally stood. They argued that it was merely

(1) HAZARD, *Register*, VI, 11.
(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 243. In 1789 the following instructions were issued: Furnish no rum; do not trade with drunk Indians; Incense no Indian against any trader; all sell at a common price; give Indians a good example of sobriety of life; send all messages to governor immediately.
(3) *Statutes at Large*, II, 367; III, 60.
(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 866.
(5) EGLE, *Notes and Queries*, I, 403.
(6) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 762. Conrad Weiser to the Provincial Government: "The Indians must have satisfaction for all possible injuries.—If all comes to all, rather than the poor Indian should be wronged, the public ought to make satisfaction if no remedy can be found to prevent it."
(7) FRANKLIN, *Review*, 291, 317, 325, 336.

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(2) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 244. In 1720 the following instructions were issued: Further no-one may do not trade with drunk Indians; Incense no Indian against any trader; all will act a certain price; give Indians a good example of sobriety of life; send all messages to governor immediately.
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(4) Pa. Arch., 4th ser., I, 866.
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(7) FRANKLIN, Works, 281, 317, 322, 420.

an imitation of the law which long practice had shown to be beneficial, and that the governor should reconsider his amendments and let it pass. (1) After it had been sent back and forth a number of times and the assembly had been convinced that the governor would never sign it without the suggested amendments, they approved them together with a new amendment to determine the salary of the agents. (2) As the assembly had now accepted the amendments to the former bills, the council advised the governor to pass it if he was satisfied that the one thousand pounds said to be expended for Indian goods were actually so expended. The bill was, therefore, returned to the house with a message to that effect. (3) It became a law April 8, 1758.

The purpose of this law was to win the friendship of the Indians, lead to their civilization by providing preachers and teachers, and keep peace along the frontier. (4) It provided for the appointment of nine commissioners of Indian affairs whose duty it was to appoint Indian agents, to supply them with goods for trade, and to oversee intercourse in general. They were not allowed to engage in trade for themselves or for others. They supplied the traders with goods from a general stock appropriated by the assembly; and in case the trade should prove lucrative, they might borrow further sums to carry it on. In case of deficit taxes were to be levied to pay it. Goods were to be sold at prices sufficient merely to pay the expenses of the transaction and support the missionaries and teachers among the Indians. (5)

Trade, however, as carried on under the act proved unprofitable. The returns were not sufficient to pay the interest on the sums borrowed. (6) Teachers and preachers could not be provided as had been contemplated. The situation was explained to the Indians by Governor Hamilton in August, 1762. "You know that for some Years past the Government hath kept a great Store at Pittsburgh in order to supply you with goods, in exchange for your Skins & Furs, near your own Homes. Good men have been appointed to regulate the Prices of our Goods and your Skins, & great care has been taken that you should not be cheated or imposed upon by those who have from Time to Time kept the Provincial Stores; but I am sorry to inform you that the

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 63.
(2) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 63.
(3) *Ibid*, VIII, 71.
(4) *Ibid*, VII, 450.
(5) *Statutes at Large*, V, 320-330.
(6) *Statutes at Large*, VI, 291.

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(3) Ibid, VIII, 71.
(4) Ibid, VII, 130.
(5) Statutes at Large, V, 228-230.
(6) Statutes at Large, VI, 291.

charges of carrying our Goods & bringing back your Skins so many hundred miles on Horse back are so high that it is a great disappointment to that Trade, and we lose a great deal of money by it every year, insomuch that I fear that it will drop, unless your Uncles, the Six Nations, will consent to let us go with our canoes up the West Branch of the Susquehanna as far as we can, & build a few Store Houses on the Banks of that river to secure our Goods in as we pass and repass. This will cut off a long Land Carriage, and may be a means of encouraging the continuance of the Trade with you, & enabling our people to sell their goods to you at a reasonable rate. We intend to speak to your Uncles on this Subject." (1)

A new trade law was passed in April, 1763, but beyond reducing the number of commissioners to six and a few minor changes, it was merely a re-enactment of the law of 1758 (2) A few months later, on account of Indian hostilities and depredations making trade with them impracticable, the commissioners were required to sell all goods in their hands within eighteen months and turn over the proceeds to the provincial treasurer. (3) But on account of some goods at Pittsburgh being hard to sell to advantage, the time was extended until September 1, 1765, and the commissioners granted discretion in disposing of them. (4)

In 1766, and possibly a year earlier, the British ministers were discussing a plan for the control of Indian trade. (5) The colonies were to be divided into two districts, over each of which was a superintendent. In the northern district the trade was to be carried on at fixed posts, in the southern district within the Indian towns. The superintendents were not to be subject to the miliary power except in time of great danger. They or their deputies were to visit among the Indians annually. Credit was to be limited to fifty shillings by making debts for higher amounts irrecoverable. This general plan, however, remained in force only until 1769 when the king who considered that the legislatures of the respective colonies must be the best judges of what their situations and circumstances might require, turned over once more the control of trade to them. (6)

In February, 1770, an act was passed providing for the

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., III, 156.
(2) *Statutes at Large*, VI, 283-293.
(3) *Ibid*, 315.
(4) *Ibid*, 380.
(5) FRANKLIN, *Works*, III, 476.
(6) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 555: *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., III, 404.

charges of carrying our Goods & bringing back your Skins so many hundred miles on Horse back are so high that it is a great disappointment to that Trade, and we lose a great deal of money by it every year, insomuch that I fear that it will drop, unless your Uncles, the Six Nations, will consent to let us go with our canoes up the West Branch of the Susquehanna as far as we can, & build a few Store Houses on the Banks of that river to secure our Goods in as we pass and repass. This will cut off a long Land Carriage, and may be a means of encouraging the continuance of the Trade with you, & enabling our people to sell their goods to you at a reasonable rate. We intend to speak to your Uncles on this Subject." (1)

A new trade law was passed in April, 1768, but beyond reducing the number of commissioners to six and a few minor changes, it was merely a re-enactment of the law of 1758 (2). A few months later, on account of Indian hostilities and depredations making trade with them impracticable, the commissioners were required to sell all goods in their hands within eighteen months and turn over the proceeds to the provincial treasurer. (3). But on account of some goods at Pittsburgh being hard to sell to advantage, the time was extended until September 1, 1765, and the commissioners granted discretion in disposing of them. (4)

In 1766, and possibly a year earlier, the British ministers were discussing a plan for the control of Indian trade. (5) The colonies were to be divided into two districts, over each of which was a superintendent. In the northern district the trade was to be carried on at fixed posts in the southern district within the Indian towns. The superintendents were not to be subject to the military power except in time of great danger. They or their deputies were to visit among the Indians annually. Credit was to be limited to fifty shillings by making debts for higher amounts recoverable. This general plan, however, remained in force until 1769 when the king was considered that the legislatures of the respective colonies must be the best judges of what their situations and circumstances might require, turned over once more the control of trade to them. (6)

In February, 1770, an act was passed providing for the

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., III, 156.
(2) *Statutes at Large*, VI, 283-293.
(3) *Ibid*, 315.
(4) *Ibid*, 380.
(5) FRANKLIN, *Works*, III, 472.
(6) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 555; *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., III, 491.

appointment of six commissioners to confer with commissioners who might be appointed by the legislatures of the neighboring colonies to agree upon a general plan for the regulation of the Indian trade. They were charged to report with all convenient speed any action which might be taken in order that a proper law might be passed. (1) This is the last law in respect to Indian trade which appears upon the statute books. The legislature was soon involved in the more pressing questions leading up to the revolution, and when the war was over, so few Indians remained in the state that trade with them was no longer important.

The question of the rum traffic and its regulation is so important that I have reserved it for special consideration. In the first place it should be stated that the white man must be held responsible for the introduction of drunkeness among the Indians. The processes of distillation and fermentation were entirely unknown to them. (2) They had among them no intoxicating liquors except those which they received from the whites. The great prevalence of drunkeness was due to unprincipled traders who persuaded them to become intoxicated in order that they might the more easily cheat them of their goods. "When I come to your place with my peltrie," an Indian is represented as saying, "All call to me, 'Come, Thomas! here's rum, drink heartily, drink! it will not hurt you.' All this is done for the purpose of cheating me. When you have obtained from me all you want, you call me a drunken dog, and kick me out of the room." (3)

The Indian, however, was generally quite willing to purchase any spirituous liquors which were offered for sale. Many of the Indians themselves, especially the women, engaged in the rum traffic. (4) They imported it from the settled districts and sold it at a considerable profit, often taking from their customers everything they had, even to the rifles upon which their sustenance depended.

Intoxication, too, affected an Indian quite differently from a white man. The latter when very drunk usually falls asleep. The Indian on the other hand was thrown into the greatest agitation, dancing, running, and shouting. (5) Drunk Indians, says Beatty, "generally appear terrible, and behave like madmen; it is therefore very dangerous for

(1) *Statutes at Large*, VII, 339.

(2) HECKEWELDER, *Indian Nations*, 262.

(3) HECKEWELDER, *Indian Nations*, 267.

(4) ZEISBERGER, *Indians*, 90.

(5) BARTRAM, JOHN, *Observations*, 15.

white people to be with or near them at that time." (1) This observation is confirmed by Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and others best acquainted with Indian life and customs. (2) Disease was often caused by exposure; and as murders committed while drunk were not severely punished, this was often used as an excuse by those who sought revenge.

If trade in general was hard to control, the rum trade was particularly hard because this was the good upon which the trader depended for his profit. The Dutch attempted with little success to regulate the traffic, (3) but it was with the coming of the Quakers that the question was first taken up with earnestness. In 1682 a stringent law was enacted forbidding any person to furnish any Indian within the province with rum, brandy or other strong liquor under penalty of five pounds fine for each such offence. (4) From 1684 to 1701 the prohibition was raised. (5) In the year last named, after consultation with a number of chiefs, it was decided to renew it and a second act was passed much like that of 1682. (6)

But none of these laws was strictly obeyed. "The Europeans," says Falckner, "certainly did bring in beer and brandy, but who can help it that the savages take too much thereof? All kinds of laws and regulations have been made as to the quantity that might be given to them. However, they know how to obtain it by their cunning, although there are some mercenary people who for gain furnish them with drink in the forest." (7) The Indians complained of this liquor being brought among them and were thereupon authorized by the governor to stave the casks and destroy the liquor, in which action they would be protected by the government against all persons whatsoever.

In 1722 a more stringent measure was passed. (8) No one was to sell rum to the Indians or carry more than one gallon of liquor beyond the Christian settlements under penalty of twenty pounds fine or imprisonment. The governor and council, however, were allowed to give a reasonable amount at treaties, and any inhabitant of the province could give any Indian small amounts at his own dwelling.

(1) BEATTY, *Journal*, 41.
(2) ZEISBERGER, *Indians*, 90: HECKEWELDER, *Indian Nations*, 263.
(3) HAZARD, *Annals*, 314, 333, 372.
(4) *Ibid*, 623.
(5) *Col. Rec.*, II, 26.
(6) *Statutes at Large*, II, 169.
(7) FALCKNER, *Curieuse Nachricht*, 173.
(8) *Statutes at Large*, III, 311.

Although sincere efforts were made by the government and by the Quaker yearly meetings to put these laws into effect, they were compelled in the end to recognize the utter futility of approaching anything like a strict enforcement, and to be content with limiting as far as they could the amount of liquor imported. It was also found impracticable to carry on trade with the Indians, and thus maintain the chief bond of friendship with them without furnishing at least some moderate quantities of liquor. (1) When prohibition had been found impracticable, the government took up the question of regulation. The first agreement to this end was made in 1684. The governor and council held a conference with the Indians at which they agreed to submit to the English laws for drunkeness in case the prohibition was suspended. (2) This arrangement, however, was soon found unsatisfactory. Another plan was that of limiting the sale of liquor to licensed traders whose actions were more easily controlled, but selling by unlicensed traders could not be prevented.

The Indians saw that the prohibition of the liquor trade was really for their benefit, yet they continually opposed it. When strong drink was denied them, the desire for it gained the mastery and they petitioned to have the prohibition raised; when it was allowed them, they saw its evil effects and many complaints were registered against it. We therefore find them making vain sporadic attemps to exclude it from their villages. The chiefs at times prohibited the sale of strong liquors, but it was always obtained in some manner against which the chiefs were unable to protest. For example a sacrifice of rum would be used. The chiefs according to custom could not prevent importation for such a purpose. After the Indians had once gained a taste of the liquor at the sacrifice, they would go to the old women who dealt in it and obtain sufficient to satisfy their cravings. (3)

As has formerly been stated, the Indians during the periods of prohibition were authorized to stave all casks of rum brought among them. But few were staved. They were too fond of it to destroy it. (4) On the other hand it was carried in by their own men. Conrad Weiser, speaking

(1) *Votes of Assembly*, III, 158.

(2) *Charter and Laws*, 169.

(3) ZEISBERGER, *Indians*, 117.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 433. Governor Gordon to the Chiefs of the Five Nations: "As to rum, we have made divers laws to prohibit it, & made it lawful for an Indian to stave all the Rum that is brought to them.—But the Indians are too fond of it themselves, they will not destroy it."

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to the Ohio Indians at Logstown in 1748, said, "You go yourselves and fetch horse loads of strong liquors; only the other day an Indian came to this town out of Maryland with three horse loads of Liquor, so that it appears you love it so well that you cannot be without it." (1)

The Indians at Allegheny in March, 1737, resolved in council that all strong drink in their towns should be destroyed and that whatever was imported after that date by either white or Indian should meet the same fate. Four men were appointed in each town to oversee the execution of the law. The resolution was signed by about one hundred Indians; all the rum in the towns, amounting to about forty gallons, was destroyed; (2) but as in former cases they soon began to backslide.

In conclusion it may be well to state that the rivalry between the French and the English for the control of the Indian trade of the Ohio Valley was one of the chief causes of the French and Indian War. The Indians at first were inclined to favor the English because they paid better prices. But as soon as the French saw that the English were outbidding them, they employed Indians to rob those who ventured farthest into their territory. By 1745 some tribes, incensed by the treatment which they had received at the hands of the English, were inclining strongly toward the French. In 1749 the English traders were warned out of the Ohio Valley, and soon after Joncaire was seen searching the upper Allegheny for a suitable site upon which to build a fort. After that the quarrel became rapidly more acute.

(To be continued.)

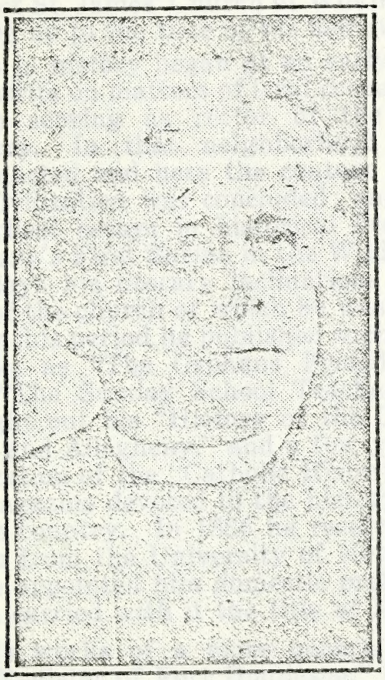
(1) CHAPMAN, *The French in the Allegheny Valley*, 155.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 551.

SCHOEPF, J. D., *Travels in the Confederation*, I, 146. A tribe of Indians living on the Susquehanna remove to the Ohio country " to escape the danger of intoxicating drinks, which had been brought among them by their new neighbors and were making idle all their efforts at keeping the peace and living orderly."

DEATH OF RIGHT REVERAND MONSIGNOR ANDREW ARNOLD LAMBING, LL. D.

Western Pennsylvania's most noted historian is dead. Full of years and honors, as well as good works, the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Andrew Arnold Lambing answered the call of his Maker at the rectory of St. James' Roman Catholic Church, Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania, on December 24, 1918.



RT. REV. MGR. ANDREW ARNOLD LAMBING, LL. D.

Father Lambing was born in Manorville, Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, on February 1, 1842, and was the third son and child of Michael A. and Anne Shields Lambing. He was a descendant of Christian Lambing, who emigrated from Germany and settled in Bucks County, in this state, in 1749. He began work on his father's farm and later obtained employment in a brick works. While still quite young he was employed in an oil refinery. When twenty-one years of age he entered St. Michael's Theological Seminary, Glenwood, Pittsburgh, where he worked his way through. In August, 1869, he was ordained priest by the late Bishop Domenec.

After his ordination he was assigned as a professor to St. Francis College, Loretto. Later he was appointed rector of St. Patrick's Church of Cameron Bottom, Indiana County and afterward served as pastor in Kittanning and Freeport churches. In the summer of 1873 he came to Pittsburgh as chaplain of St. Paul's Orphan Asylum. After one year's service there he took charge of the St. Mary of Mercy congregation at the Point, Pittsburgh. In October, 1885, he became rector of St. James' Church of Wilkinsburg, to which he was attached up to the time of his last sickness.

His studies in history began at an early day. The first inspiration to write on matters of local concern was no doubt received while serving as rector of the church of St. Mary of Mercy. In that neighborhood many stirring scenes were enacted and here the contest between French and English civilization was concluded; and one of Father Lambing's earliest essays in historical literature was the account of "Mary's First Shrine in the Wilderness." But in his younger days his literary inclinations were largely in the direction of the church of which he was a brilliant ornament. During this period he published such educational and religious works as "The Orphans Friend," "Mixed Marriages," and "The Sunday School Teachers Manual." In 1880 he brought out his "History of the Catholic Dioceses of Pittsburgh and Allegheny," and a few years later he began the publication of the "Catholic Historical Researches," a quarterly magazine devoted to the history of the Catholic church in this country. In 1886 he received the degree of doctor of laws from the University of Notre Dame; and in 1915 the Pope appointed him domestic prelate, an honorary dignity which carried with it the title of Monsignor.

Among his works of a more general historical character is the "Register of Fort Duquesne," being a record of the marriages and deaths at that famous stronghold while in the occupancy of the French. Perhaps his best known writings are his contributions to the "Centennial History of Allegheny County," the first eight chapters in the "History of Allegheny County," and his work on the "Standard History of Pittsburgh." He was for many years one of the trustees of the Carnegie Institute. At one time he was President of the Ohio Valley Catholic Historical Society. He was long a prominent member, and for some years the honored president of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society. To him much of the early success of the organization is attributable. No member will be more missed than this genial kindly priest.

THE PENNSYLVANIA CANALS.

By James Macfarlane, Ph. D.

Author of the Coal Regions of America, and A Geological Railway Guide.*

The Erie Canal was completed from Buffalo to Albany, in 1825. About this time the attention of the people of Pennsylvania was turned to the importance of improved inland navigation. Railroads were not in existence, and as the only navigable rivers in the state were the Delaware and the Ohio, a system of canals along the valleys of the rivers in the interior of the state, especially from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, with a portage over the Alleghany Mountains, was thought to be the most feasible plan for improving the means of transportation. The state of Pennsylvania, after extensive preliminary surveys made in 1824 and 1825, entered in the year 1826 into the actual construction of an extended system of internal improvements and continued the annual expenditure of large sums of money for canals and railroads for fifteen years or until 1841. A vast debt was accumulated, upon which the state, for several years, was unable to pay even the interest, and work on all the canals was stopped. Sixteen years afterwards, the main line from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh was sold, and in the following year all the other canals were also disposed of. This ended the career of the state as a builder or owner of canals and railroads. Happily the state debt which was so rashly incurred is now practically all paid, and a proper conclusion of this narrative will be to tell how the government of this, one of the largest states of the Union, is now carried on more cheaply than any other of its size, and, strange to say, without any tax whatever upon real estate. To the older citizens of the state it will be interesting to recall the principal events of this period, and to those who are younger much of it will be new, and to residents of other states part of it may be instructive.

It is difficult for us to conceive the state of this country as to its facilities for transportation in early times. Before a turnpike was constructed across the Alleghany Mountains we are told that it required a good team of five or six horses, from eighteen to twenty-five days to transport from 2,500 to 3,500 pounds of goods from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh.

(*) An unpublished manuscript written in 1875, and read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, on February 23, 1915 by the author's son, the Hon. James R. Macfarlane.

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After the completion of the turnpike across the mountains the same kind of teams carried 6,000 to 8,000 pounds; the trip was made in 12 or 15 days, and the price of carriage was from three to four cents a pound. After the building of the state canal and state railroads, the time was reduced to six or seven days and the cost to about one cent per pound. When the state projected these public works the results here spoken of were only a subject of conjecture, but the substantial fact was known that a great impulse had been given to the trade of New York City and to the general growth of the whole state of New York by the completion of the Erie Canal. It was necessary to do something for Philadelphia, and to facilitate the settlement of distant parts of the state, and to develop her great mineral and agricultural resources. This stimulated the patriotic people of Pennsylvania to commence the building of public improvements, which were projected on a grand scale, and their construction was prosecuted with a spirit and enterprise worthy of better success.

Ground was formally broken at Harrisburg for the building of the Pennsylvania Canal, at the expiration of the first half century of the republic, on July 4, 1826, a day which became memorable in the annals of the country by the death of Adams and Jefferson. By the Act of February 25, 1826, the Canal Commissioners were authorized to locate and put under contract a canal on the east side of the Susquehanna River from the mouth of the Juniata River to the mouth of the Swatara at Middletown. This was afterwards extended to Columbia, making in all 46 miles, and was called the Eastern Division of the Pennsylvania Canal. Like all the other state canals afterwards constructed, it was 40 feet wide at the water line, 28 feet at the bottom, with 4 feet depth of water; and the locks were 17 feet wide and 90 feet long. At the same time work was commenced on the western end of the main line from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Kiskiminetas, and on another canal in the northwestern part of the state, from French Creek to Conneaut Lake, being a part of the canal intended to connect Pittsburgh with Lake Erie. In 1827 a law was passed to extend the first mentioned canal up the Juniata as far as Lewistown, also up the Susquehanna to Northumberland and up the Kiskiminetas and Conemaugh to Blairsville. Surveys were also authorized for a number of other canals which were afterwards begun; also for a railroad from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna, and for a route across the Alleghany Mountains from Frankstown on the Juniata River to Johnstown on the Conemaugh, to determine the problem whether the mountains

should be crossed by a smooth and permanent road of easy graduation or by a railroad with locomotives and stationary engines or otherwise. Work was also authorized to be commenced on the Delaware Division from Bristol northward, provided that the average expense should not exceed $12,000 per mile.

But it was the Act of 1828 which fully committed the state to the whole of the proposed system of improvements. It authorized the extension of the canal on the Susquehanna from the mouth of the Swatara to Columbia; from Lewistown to Hollidaysburg on the Juniata; from Northumberland along the west branch of the Susquehanna to Bald Eagle, now Lockhaven; from Northumberland along the North Branch of the Susquehanna to the New York state line; from Taylor's Ferry to Easton on the Delaware; and from Blairsville to Johnstown on the Conemaugh; also the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad and the Alleghany Portage Railroad, besides surveys for numerous other similar enterprises.

Thus it will be seen that within about two years the state, having become canal-crazy, embarked in the construction of a complete system of canals which with the two railroads mentioned were intended to extend to all parts of the state where rivers large enough to supply the necessary water, were to be found. It was a bold movement for the state of Pennsylvania, on March 4, 1828, to order a railroad to be put under contract from Philadelphia to Columbia on the Susquehanna, and another railroad across the Alleghany Mountains, 2325 feet above the sea, with a view to their completion within two years or as soon thereafter as practicable. It should be borne in mind that the improvements made by George Stephenson in the locomotive which first made it a really successful machine, were not tried until October, 1828. The use of steam on railroads was therefore unknown and the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad in England, which was begun in 1826, was not opened until September, 1830. Pennsylvania was therefore one of the pioneers in the modern railway system. The state of New York to this day has not built a single railroad. The building of canals should then have been suspended for all the money spent after that date was wasted.

The construction of these works was prosecuted with great energy. In 1832, 526 miles were finished and 673 miles by 1834. But the credit of the state was good, money was abundant, and the people of both political parties were strongly in favor of these internal improvements. Taxes were not increased and it was believed generally that the

canals connecting the eastern with the western waters of the state and with the lakes, would prove highly profitable as a means of revenue, besides greatly advancing the value of property of all kinds, and all industrial interests.

But unfortunately too extensive a system of public works was undertaken. Votes could not be obtained in the legislature for the main lines alone. The canals were not considered a doubtful experiment and it was argued that the people of all parts of the state were equally entitled to the benefit of the public improvements. Of course the works were not constructed or managed with economy. Millions were expended on lines, which to this day would have been unproductive, and in operating the finished lines. Party politics had much to do with the awarding of contracts and in the appointment of agents for the management of the finished works. The hopes of the friends of the canals in the amount of business done, never were realized, and the general result was a constant increase in the amount of the state debt. This debt at the close of 1828 was five millions of dollars. It was increased three millions in 1829, four millions more in 1830, two millions in 1831, and three millions in each of the years, 1832, 1833 and 1834, when it amounted to twenty-three millions of dollars, but it was only increased one and a half millions more in 1835. After these repeated increases had been made, a new source of revenue was found in the bonus derived from the incorporation by the state of the United States Bank, on February 18, 1836, after its recharter by Congress had been vetoed by President Jackson. In consideration of the privileges granted, the bank was to pay the state a bonus of two millions of dollars within thirty days, another half million at the end of the year, to take six millions of dollars of the permanent loan of the state at four and five percent. interest, and one million dollars per annum as a temporary loan, making in all nine and a half millions of dollars to be appropriated to the public works. In addition the bank was to give one hundred thousand dollars per annum for twenty years towards the common or free school fund of the state, and to subscribe for three quarters of a million dollars of the stock of railroads and turnpikes in various parts of the state. The law was a new placer for the canal men to work. But with twelve and a quarter millions of dollars of its capital thus disposed of, it was no wonder the bank lived for only five years. The charter of the bank also unfortunately contained a repeal of the taxes for state purposes on real and personal property, for with so much money on hand, where was the necessity of taxing the people? The bargain with the bank proved disastrous

to both parties in the end. The state debt was reduced $200,000 in 1836; it was not increased in 1837, and was only increased $700,000 in 1838, when it amounted to twenty-five millions.

With the money derived from the bank, new surveys were made and further extensions of the canals authorized, making with the finished work one thousand miles. Through the influence of Thaddeus Stevens, who was then the leading man in Pennsylvania politics, a railroad was begun from Gettysburg, where he then resided, westward over the South Mountain, intended to connect with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in Maryland. It was a wild and extravagant scheme, the route being an extremely expensive one, the road, as was facetiously said, "beginning nowhere and ending in the woods." No less than $700,000 was expended when by a change in the politics of the state, the work was suspended, and never resumed. (*) Equally extravagant was the extension of the West Branch Canal through the then untrodden wilderness of the Sinnemahoning country over the Alleghany Mountains to Lake Erie. How this canal was to be supplied with water is one of the mysteries of engineering, and how it was to yield any revenue is one of the mysteries of finance. Of course, a time came when all this must end. The failure of the United States Bank took place on February 4, 1841, followed by a panic and a suspension of specie payments, which brought the finances of the state to a crisis. The state debt had attained frightful proportions, having been increased seven millions in 1839, four millions more in 1840, and three millions more in 1841, making in all over thirty-nine millions of dollars; and afterwards it was swelled to $42,000,000, an enormous sum for those times. The works had cost far more than was estimated, and the finished lines did not pay the expenses of operation and repairs. The state had borrowed until she could borrow no longer, without thinking much as to how she should pay, and worst of all she had no income from taxation. The interest however was paid for a year longer. Then came the darkest day in the history of Pennsylvania, and on July 1, 1842, the state was unable to pay the interest on her bonds. To pay the floating debt, (due chiefly to the contractors at the time the work on the canal was abruptly terminated in 1841,) state paper money in the form of bank notes, of the denomination of one and two dollars were issued through the medium of the state banks,

(*) This state railroad extended westward from Gettysburg and is not the present railroad from that place eastward.

to the amount of three million dollars, under a penalty to the bank which refused to issue its proportion. These notes were "payable in like currency" and were redeemable in state stocks in sums of $100, and receivable in payment of debts due the state, and for deposit at the banks which issued them. This currency was known as Pennsylvania "relief notes" and of course became very much depreciated, especially as the state ceased to pay the interest on the state stocks into which the currency was convertible. After the credit of the state was restored these notes were redeemed at the Treasury, but their savor has lingered in the memory of some of our soft money philosophers and has probably suggested the proposed 3/65 United States bonds convertible into greenbacks, and vice versa, of which we hear so much lately.

The works for which this debt was incurred must be briefly described, for ancient history of defunct canals to be read in these busy times must be short. Most of their statistics and history are comprised in a following tabular statement. The canals were very similar in capacity to the old Erie Canal in the state of New York, before its enlargement, except that the locks were longer. They were built along the valleys of rivers subject to high freshets, some of them rising 20 feet or more, and the dams in the rivers, built to feed the canals, were a source of expense, being liable to be carried away by floods.

The Philadelphian and Columbia Railroad, the most valuable and important of the state works, was opened for use in April, 1834. For many years there was an inclined plane at the Schuylkill River 2805 feet in length with a rise of 187 feet. It was operated by stationary engines at the head of the plane which moved the endless rope to which the cars were attached. There was also a similar inclined plane at the Susquehanna at Columbia, but both of these were dispensed with before the state works were sold.

The Alleghany Portage Railroad extending from Hollidaysburg over the Alleghany Mountains at Blairs Gap to Johnstown, thirty-six and a half miles, was opened for use in March, 1834. It overcame an elevation of 1398 feet above Hollidaysburg and 1171 feet above Johnstown, the summit being 2325 feet above tide-water at Philadelphia. There were five inclined planes on each side of the summit, and eleven levels on graded lines of railroad connecting the planes, on which horses were used on the short levels and locomotives on the longer ones. The longest plane was 3117 feet in length with a rise of 307 feet, and the shortest 1480 feet in length rising 130 feet. Boats built in sections were carried over the

mountain. The Portage Railroad, with the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, and the connecting canals composed for a long time, one of the most important of the fast lines for travelling and the transportation of goods in the United States. We must not undervalue the works of our predecessors, which although they were temporary and have now become obsolete, yet were very important means in the early development of the business resources of the state and of our national wealth.

STATISTICS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE WORKS.

	Divisions	From	To	Miles	Begun	Finished
1.	Delaware	Bristol	Easton	60	1827	1832
2.	Phila. & Col. R. R.	Philadelphia	Columbia	80	1828	1836
3.	Eastern	Columbia	Duncans Isl'd	46	1826	1832
4.	Juniata	Duncans Island	Hollidaysburg	127	1827	1832
5.	Susquehanna	Duncans Island	Northumberl'd	41	1827	1832
6.	North Branch	Northumberland	Pittston	73	1828	1832
7.	N. Branch Exten.	Pittston	N. Y. St. line	94	1836	1856
8.	West Branch	Northumberland	Farrandsville	76	1828	1832
9.	Wisconisco	Duncans Island	Millersburg	12	1836	(*)
10.	Western	Johnstown	Pittsburgh	103	1826	1832
11.	Beaver	Beaver	Newcastle	31	1831	1833
12.	French Creek	French Creek	Conneaut Lake	22	1836	(*)
13.	Erie	New Castle	Erie	105	1836	(*)
14.	Sinnemahoning Ex	Farrandsville	Mouth of Sinnemahoning	36	1836	(x)
15.	Portage R. R.	Hollidaysburg	Johnstown	36	1828	1834
16.	Gettysburg R. R.	Gettysburg	Md. line	36	1836	(x)
			Total	978		

(*) Finished by a canal company.
(x) Never finished.

The philippics of Sydney Smith, published in 1843, against Pennsylvania for the non-payment of her interest, will still be remembered by many. He said that he, in common with many other unwise people, had lent to the state of Pennsylvania, a sum of money for the purpose of some improvement. The amount though small was to him important, and was a saving from a life income, made with difficulty and privation. If the refusal of the state to pay had been the result of war produced by the unjust aggression of powerful enemies; if it had arisen from civil discord; if it had proceeded from an improvident application of means in the first years of self government; if it was the act of a poor state struggling against the barrenness of nature, every friend of America would have been content to wait for better times. But the fraud, said he, is committed in the profound peace of Pennsylvania, by the richest state in the Union, after the wisest investment of the borrowed

mountain. The Portage Railroad, with the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, and the connecting canals composed for a long time, one of the most important of the fast lines for travelling and the transportation of goods in the United States. We must not undervalue the works of our predecessors, which although they were temporary and have now become obsolete, yet were very important means in the early development of the business resources of the state and of our national wealth.

STATISTICS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE WORKS.

Divisions	From	To	Miles	Begun	Finished
1. Delaware	Bristol	Easton	60	1827	1832
2. Phila. & Col. R. R.	Philadelphia	Columbia	80	1829	1834
3. Eastern	Columbia	Duncans Isl'd	64	1829	1832
4. Juniata	Duncans Island	Hollidaysburg	127	1827	1832
5. Susquehanna	Duncans Island	Northumberl'd	41	1827	1834
6. North Branch	Northumberland	Pittston	73	1828	1834
7. N. Branch Extn.	Pittston	N. Y. St. line	84	1836	1840
8. West Branch	Northumberland	Farrandsville	73	1829	1834
9. Wiconisco	Duncans Island	Millersburg	12	1828	(*)
10. Western	Johnstown	Pittsburgh	104	1828	1834
11. Beaver	Beaver	Newcastle	21	1831	1834
12. French Creek	French Creek	Connaut Lake	32	1832	(*)
13. Erie	New Castle	Erie	136	1832	(*)
14. Sinnemahoning	Ex Farrandsville	Mouth of Sinnemahoning	36	1836	(x)
15. Portage R. R.	Hollidaysburg	Johnstown	36	1833	1834
16. Gettysburg R. R.	Gettysburg	Md. line	24	1836	(x)
		Total	972		

(*) Finished by a canal company.
(x) Never finished.

The philippics of Sydney Smith, published in 1843, against Pennsylvania for the non-payment of her interest, will still be remembered by many. He said that he, in common with many other unwise people, had lent to the state of Pennsylvania, a sum of money for the purpose of some improvement. The amount though small was to him important, and was a saving from a life income, made with difficulty and privation. If the refusal of the state to pay had been the result of war produced by the unjust aggression of powerful enemies; if it had arisen from civil discord; if it had proceeded from an improvident application of means in the first years of self government; if it was the act of a poor state struggling against the barrenness of nature, every friend of America would have been content to wait for better times. But the fraud, said he, is committed in the profound peace of Pennsylvania, by the richest state in the Union, after the wisest investment of the borrowed

money in roads and canals, of which the speculators are every day reaping the advantage. It is an act of bad faith which, all things considered, has no parallel and no excuse.

He says to "the drab colored men" of Pennsylvania, as he calls them, "It is a sad spectacle to see you rejected by every state in Europe as a nation with whom no contract can be made, because none will be kept; deficient in the elements of good faith and who prefer any load of infamy however great to any pressure of taxation however light. Figure to yourself a Pennsylvanian receiving foreigners in his own country, walking over the public works with them and showing them Larcenous Lake, Swindling Swamp, Crafty Canal, Rogues Railroad and other dishonest works." He proved by calculation that a tax of one and a half percent on the incomes of the state, as reported by the census, would pay the interest on her debt, and that therefore one and a half percent was the price of national honor. "In the whole habitable globe they cannot borrow a guinea" he wrote, "they are powerless as an enemy that cannot draw the sword because they have not money to buy it. The bad faith of that state brings disgrace on all, just as common snakes are killed because vipers are dangerous." He suggested that the mercantile New Yorkers and the thoroughly honest people of Massachusetts in their European visits should wear a uniform with S. S. or Solvent States worked in gold letters upon their coats. Invoking the name of Mercury, the great god of thieves, he declared, "let no deluded being imagine that they will ever repay a single farthing." And he concluded, "having eased my soul of its indignation, and sold my stock for 40 percent discount, I sulkily retire from the subject with a fixed intention of lending no more money to free and enlightened republics."

The length of time during which the state continued to make no strenuous efforts to pay her debts, gave but too much ground for the unmeasured abuse which Sydney Smith so liberally bestowed on her. Whatever effect it may have had, it is certain that at the very next session of the legislature in April, 1844, a general law was passed imposing a tax of three mills on every dollar of valuation of all kinds of property in the state. Such a law should have been passed in 1841 and then no default would have taken place. There had been however several years of very hard times, but doubtless there were equally hard times for the creditors of the state.

Under the management of an efficient treasurer, James Ross Snowden, the state resumed the payment of the interest of the state debt on the first day of February, 1845, after

being in default two and a half years, and since that time she has always met her engagements.

One of the canals that extended from Pittston to the New York state line near Athens was finished by the state in 1856 and sold two years afterwards. This and the newly graded railroad built to avoid the inclined planes on the Portage Railroad were the only works constructed by the state after the panic of 1841. It may be safely said that Pennsylvania will never build another, although there is no constitutional prohibition to that effect, unless the stringent provisions against incurring a large state debt may be considered as such.

It would be uninteresting to follow the history of the state works during the sixteen years from 1841 to 1857. It was not such as to justify a repetition of the attempt by a state to operate canals and railroads. Unfortunately the Pennsylvania canals were built just as the era of railroads began. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company was incorporated in 1846 and the road opened for traffic from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh on December 10, 1852, thus completing the entire line of railroad from the latter place to Philadelphia. Notwithstanding the tonnage tax provided for in its charter, imposed for the protection of the state canals on all freight carried during the season of navigation, the railroad soon became a strong competitor in the carrying of freight. In May 1857, after sustaining great losses in operating the canals, the legislature authorized the sale of the main line of the state public works, consisting of the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, the canal from Columbia to Duncans Island at the mouth of the Juniata, the Juniata Canal, the Alleghany Portage Railroad, including the newly finished railroad to avoid the inclined planes, and the canal from Johnstown to Pittsburgh, in all 276 miles of canal and 116 miles of railroad with all the property belonging to the same, which were said to have cost the state $18,615,666. The price fixed was to be $7,500,000 or about $19,000 per mile, and the Pennsylvania Railroad, became the purchaser. The Act provided that if the line was sold to the Pennsylvania Railroad that company was to pay $1,500,000 additional or $9,000,000 in its five percent. bonds, and to be released forever from the payment of all tonnage dues and taxes on its capital stock, bonds, dividends or property, except taxes for school, borough and township purposes. The Supreme Court of the state declared this release from taxation unconstitutional. Consequently in 1861 a compromise act was passed releasing the Pennsylvania Railroad

Company from the tonnage tax on condition of its paying into the state treasury in place of the $1,500,000, additional as aforesaid, $460,000 annually until the year 1890, without interest, amounting in all to $13,570,000. The company pays $100,000 per annum of the principal of the $7,500,000 of bonds until 1890, when it is to pay $1,000,000 of the principal and the same sum annually thereafter until all is paid. These sums are now regularly paid and appear annually in the report of the State Treasurer, forming important portions of the revenues of the state. In 1875 the state had $5,500,000 of these bonds in her treasury. The company is now liable to the same taxes as other railroads under the general laws of the state, and it and other corporations are the favorite subjects of taxation in Pennsylvania.

The manner in which the state of Pennsylvania managed to dispose of her other public works is one of the most extraordinary incidents in her history. A railroad had been in progress of construction for many years from Sunbury, near the centre of the state, up the West Branch of the Susquehanna River to the city of Erie. It was a hopeless undertaking to build the western portion of this road, over one of the highest summits of the Alleghany Mountains through a forest of hemlock, without population, and without any reasonable prospect of a profitable trade to induce the investment of capital in the undertaking. The governor and leaders of the legislature being West Branch men, the friends of the road conceived the idea of getting the state to sell the canals and instead of applying the proceeds to the payment of the state debt, to loan the money to the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad, then called the Sunbury and Erie Railroad Company. The scheme had nothing to recommend it but its audacity, and the fact that this wilderness railroad could not otherwise be built. Strange to say the scheme succeeded and by the Act of April 21, 1858, the governor was fully authorized at once to sell, and did immediately sell and convey all the unsold canals, namely the Delaware Division, the Lower North Branch Division, the Upper North Branch Division, the West Branch Division and the Susquehanna Division, in all 344 miles of finished canals, to this wildcat, bankrupt railroad company, which was to give the state in payment certain bonds amounting to $3,500,000, or about $10,000 for each mile of canal sold. The railroad company was authorized to sell the canals and the purchasers were thereby, without further legislation, to become incorporated as canal companies with full powers as such. This ended the state ownership of all canals and

railroads. With the exception of the Delaware Division all the other canals now used, belong to the Pennsylvania Canal Company, the stock of which it is said all belongs to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which controls it in every respect.

The Philadelphia and Erie Railroad Company being unable to dispose of the $3,500,000 of bonds received from the sale of the canals, the legislature in 1861 allowed it to execute first mortgages aggregating $6,000,000, which were to become prior liens, and the state took a second mortgage. By this means, the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad was finished in October 1864, having been previously leased by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

On March 30, 1869, the state, ever ready to oblige the railroad companies again surrendered her $3,500,000 of Philadelphia and Erie Railroad bonds in order to help the Alleghany Valley Railroad to pay her floating debts and build its Eastern Division, commonly called the Low Grade Railroad, and agreed to receive instead Allegheny Valley Railroad second mortgage bonds endorsed by the Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia and Erie and the Northern Central Railroad companies, and bearing five percent interest. The state now received $175,000 per annum interest on these bonds. One hundred thousand dollars per annum of the principal of said bonds is now payable annually beginning in 1875 until the whole is paid. Contrary to the usual experience of obliging and reckless endorsers the state comes out with good securities in her possession. The $3,500,000 and the $5,500,000 of Pennsylvania Railroad bonds received from the sale of the water line, in all $9,000,000 of good bonds may be counted as that amount towards the final extinguishment of the state debt. The state also receives the $460,000 per annum from the Pennsylvania Railroad Company until 1890, amounting to $7,900,000. A bold attempt to appropriate the $9,000,000 of bonds to the building of another West Branch Railroad up Pine Creek was only defeated a few years ago by the veto of Governor Geary for which every taxpayer in the state should remember him with gratitude. The new constitution of the state has put an effectual stop to any such operations in the future. The amount of the state debt of Pennsylvania was $24,568,635 on the first of December, 1874. Deducting the foregoing securities, without discounting the $460,000 annual payments, we have the actual balance of debt not provided for of only $7,668,635.

It will scarcely be believed that in Pennsylvania there is no state tax on real estate . Almost 58 percent of the payments into the treasury are derived from taxes on

the dividends of corporations or if no dividends are declared then on the value of the stocks. There is also a tax of three cents per ton on coal mined by corporations. The receipts from the sales of the public works and licenses of various kinds make up the balance. These taxes on corporations are easily and cheaply collected, they are uniform and not easily evaded, and while the system is somewhat oppressive on the corporations, it is very popular with the people who prefer a tax on transporation to a tax on land. Pennsylvania may be considered as a state practically out of debt and free from direct taxation for state purposes.

The fashion of this world passeth away. These hundreds of miles of canals, for which Pennsylvania incurred this great debt and which were intended to be the avenues of trade for centuries have lost all their importance and a considerable part of them are now destroyed as canals and either wholly abandoned or converted into railroads. Even the boasted "main line" from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh is reduced to a detached piece of 140 miles of canal extending from Columbia to the first dam above Huntingdon. The Portage Railroad over the Alleghany Mountains now forms picturesque ruins. Not one of the canals west of the Alleghany Mountains is now used as such. The Western Division of the canal is now the roadbed of the West Penn Railroad built in 1865, running down the Kiskiminetas from Blairsville and extending to Butler. The Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad was absorbed in the Pennsylvania Railroad, its inclined planes forgotten and great numbers of its curves that formerly ornamented Chester and Lancaster Counties, converted into straight lines, better adapted to utility, as the former were to beauty. The Erie extension of the canal, finished by a company after the state abandoned it, is now again abandoned as a canal, having been purchased in 1870 by the Erie and Pittsburgh Railroad Company. The North Branch Extension from Pittston northward to the New York state line, near Athens, is wholly abandoned as a canal and constitutes the grading of the Pennsylvania and New York Railroad, an extension of the Lehigh Valley Railroad. The Junction, a canal connecting it with those of the state of New York, is also abandoned.

In 1874 the net earnings of the Pennsylvania Canal Company were $236,186 out of $546,328 of gross receipts, almost all the earnings being derived from the enlarged portion of the canal, received from the Wyoming coal field for which the canal company's coal mines furnished the tonnage. As a rich and prosperous man buys the property of his unsuccessful neighbors, so the railroad companies

swallow up the canals. Not only has the Pennsylvania Railroad leased the state canals, but the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad leased the Schuykill Navigation Company in 1870, and the Susquehanna Canal south from Columbia in 1872. The Delaware and Hudson Canal Company is only a canal company in name, having really become one of the great railroad companies of the country and an extensive miner of coal. The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company built a railroad to supersede their own canal, and the Union Canal scarcely pays its own expenses.

Supplemental note by Mr. Thomas T. Wierman of Harrisburg, Pa.

Since 1875 the following canals have been closed:

				Miles	Year
Eastern Division	Columbia	to	Duncans Island	46	1901
Susquehanna "	Duncans Island	"	Northumberland	41	1901
North Branch "	Northumberland	"	Nanticoke	60	1901
Juniata "	Duncans Island	"	Millerstown	14	1901
" "	Millerstown	"	Huntingdon	76	1889
West Branch "	Northumberland	"	Muncy Dam	20	1901
" " "	Muncy Dam	"	Lock Haven	56	1889
Union Canal	Middletown	"	Reading	77	1885
Susq. & Tide Water Canal	Havre de Grace	"	Columbia	45	1893
Delaware & Hudson Canal	Honesdale, Pa.	"	Eddysvlile, N. Y.	108	1900
			Total	543	

In operation in 1918:

Lehigh Navigation	Coalport	to	Easton	48 miles
Delaware Division	Easton	"	Bristol	60 "
Schuylkill Navigation	Port Clinton	"	Phila.	90 "

Mileage continued in operation year 1918, total 198 miles

The following extract from Annual Report for 1899, by General Isaac J. Wistar, President, Pennsylvania Canal Company, sets forth some causes for the decline of the business operation of the Canal:

"The operations of the entire Canal line, during recent years, exhibit a steady decline from $105,816.75 of net earnings in 1888 to an excess of expenses of $49,382.57 in 1899. This decline is no doubt partly due to the exclusion of the Canal from any navigable outlet to tidewater through the abandonment, in 1893, of the Susquehanna Canal, extending from Columbia to Havre de Grace, by its owners, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, who found it no longer profitable to operate. But a more potent and continually increasing cause has been the steady decline in the cost of rail transportation and the increasing facilities which the railways are able to extend to their shippers by the multiplication of short branches and sidings, reaching every source of tonnage at one end of their lines and every customer's

swallow up the canals. Not only has the Pennsylvania Railroad leased the state canals, but the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad leased the Schuylkill Navigation Company in 1870, and the Susquehanna Canal south from Columbia in 1872. The Delaware and Hudson Canal Company is only a canal company in name, having really become one of the great railroad companies of the country and an extensive miner of coal. The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company built a railroad to supersede their own canal, and the Union Canal scarcely pays its own expenses.

Supplemental note by Mr. Thomas T. Wiernan of Harrisburg, Pa.

Since 1875 the following canals have been closed:

				Miles	Year
Eastern Division	Columbia	to	Duncans Island	18	1901
Susquehanna "	Duncans Island	"	Northumberland	21	1901
North Branch "	Northumberland	"	Nanticoke	80	1901
Junista "	Duncans Island	"	Millerstown	14	1901
" "	Millerstown	"	Huntingdon	76	1894
West Branch "	Northumberland	"	Money Dam	20	1897
" " "	Money Dam	"	Lock Haven	50	1894
Union Canal	Middletown	"	Reading	77	1885
Susq. & Tide Water Canal	Havre de Grace	"	Columbia	45	1892
Delaware & Hudson Canal	Honesdale, Pa.	"	Eddyville, N. Y.	108	1900
			Total	443	

In operation in 1918:

Lehigh Navigation	Coalport	to	Easton	42 miles
Delaware Division	Easton	"	Bristol	60 "
Schuylkill Navigation	Fort Clinton	"	Pottsville	89 "

Mileage continued in operation year 1918, total 192 miles

The following extract from Annual Report for 1870, by General Isaac J. Wistar, President, Pennsylvania Canal Company, sets forth some causes for the decline of the business operation of the Canal:

"The operations of the entire Canal line, during recent years, exhibit a steady decline from $[illegible]$ of net earnings in 1866 to an excess of expenses of $[illegible]$ in 1869. This decline is no doubt partly due to the enclosing of the Canal from any navigable outlet to tidewater through the abandonment, in 1866, of the Susquehanna Canal, extending from Columbia to Havre de Grace, by its owners, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, who found it no longer profitable to operate. But a more potent and continually increasing cause has been the steady decline in the cost of rail transportation and the increasing facilities which the railways are able to extend to their shippers by the multiplication of short branches and sidings, reaching every source of tonnage at one end of their lines and every consumer

yard, wharf or factory at the other. The comparative decline of facilities and increase of cost on the Canal have been slow and gradual, but incessant, during a series of years, and, with a trifling exception in 1897, the Canal has during the past six years, failed to earn its current expenses of operation, and has contracted a floating debt amounting, on December 31, 1899, to $16,747.22, exclusive of a large amount of unpaid coupons. With the steady decrease in the cost of rail transportation, effected by the use of heavier power and equipment, it will probably be but a short time before the bulk of the coal heretofore transported by your Canal will be shipped by rail."

Hon. Malcolm Hay, and His Collection of Letters and Documents.

MALCOLM HAY was a native of Philadelphia and came to Pittsburgh in 1863 when twenty-one years of age. In 1865 he was admitted to the bar of Allegheny County and soon became one of the leaders. For a number of years he was the partner of George W. Guthrie, later mayor of Pittsburgh and ambassador to Japan, the firm being Hay and Guthrie. Mr. Hay was prominent in Democratic politics, being a delegate to at least three national conventions of that party. In 1876 he was one of the lawyers selected by Samuel J. Tilden to investigate the vote of Florida at the time of the contested election of Hayes and Wheeler. In 1885 he became First Assistant Postmaster General under President Cleveland, and died in October of that year. He early began collecting manuscripts, letters and documents of a public character, and at his death had probably the best collection of such papers in Western Pennsylvania, a few of which are published herewith.

Letter of Governor Thomas McKean to John Way of Sewickley Township, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, August 25th, 1808.

Sir,

Your letter of the 12th March last was received at Lancaster, when the Legislature was sitting there, and just now recollected.

I thank you for your congratulation on the defeat of my unprovoked enemies, a parcel of disappointed office-seekers. malignant & bad men; among whom I must rank Abner Lacock and add to him the term "ungrateful," as well as to most of the others, but I forgive them, and pray for their repentance and amendments.

I learn, that you have leased six tracts of land for me, for which service please to draw upon me for thirty dollars (that is five dollars for each) which shall be punctually paid, and the like sum for every tract you may hereafter let for me, any where on the Northwest of the Ohio, in any county. You may give Andrew Pinkerton a lease on the same terms with the others; but if he refuses this, I must request you to inform me, and I will immediately commence an action against him.

Mr. Shield of Washington, about two years age, applied to me for the purchase of No. 42 in the Nathaniel Brading's

district, on which James Charles resides, and some other person, about the same time, also desired to purchase it, but I then asked eight dollars an acre, for I found that No. 46 and this tract furnished an excellent seat for a Mill, and that I had paid one hundred pounds to a certain Jacob Beery a Deputy Surveyor, who had made the original survey, for the two tracts, exclusive of the purchase-money & all other expenses. The money thus paid, together with the interest thereof and the taxes, then amounted to more than five dollars an acre. You may lease No. 42, to Mr James Charles for a reasonable rent after his present term expires, so that the Lease be not longer than seven years, the shorter the better, as I may be tempted to sell it.

Be so kind as to send me the names of the several tracts of land you have leased, to whom, the times when the Leases commence and the terms on which they severally occupy.

I must request you to prevent any sales of my property for taxes, as they shall be discharged as soon as known.

Accept, Sir, my particular regard,

Your most obedient servant,

THOS. McKEAN.

P. S. I wish to be informed of the names of the townships in which my lands lie.

Letter of Clement Biddle to Major Isaac Craig, Written During the Whiskey Insurrection.

Pittsburgh Nov. 18, 1794.

Sir

Having represented to Col. Hamilton that a hospital had been established here for the reception of the Sick of the right Column and that they would require wood Straw Candles and some few necessaries on the order of Dr. Roger Wales who has the Charge of the hospital and that the Sick when recovered would be sent home, also that some other Objects in the Quarter Masters Department would require attention after we should leave them, he directed me to apply to you and to inform you that he approved that you should take Charge of the business, of which I waited on you twice at your home but not having the pleasure of seeing you and being about to return I concluded to communicate the same to you in writing I am with Esteem

Dr Sir

your mo. Obod. Serv.

Clement Biddle

Q M Penna

Major Isaac Craig

Pittsburgh.

Summons in Trespass on the Case, Issued out of the Court of Common Pleas of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of King George the Third (1773).

Westmoreland County, SS.

GEORGE THE THIRD, by the Grace of God of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the Sheriff of Westmoreland County, Greeting. We command you, that you summon ADAM HAUTHORN late of your County yeoman so that he be and appear before Our Justices at Westmoreland at Our County Court of Common Pleas, there to be held the first Tuesday of October next, to answer MICHAEL CRESAP of a Plea of Trespass on the Case &c. And have you then and there this Writ. WITNESS William Crawford Esquire at Westmoreland the eighth Day of July in the thirteenth Year of Our Reign.

A. T. Clairy

Uniform for the Army of the United States, in 1799.

THE uniform of the commander in chief, to be a blue coat, with yellow buttons, and gold epaulets, each having three silver stars, with lining, cape and cuffs, of buff—in winter buff vest and breeches;—in summer, a white vest and breeches of nankeen.—The coat to be without lappels, and embroidered on the cape and cuffs and pockets. A white plume in the hat, to be a further distinction. The Adjutant General, the aids, and secretaries, of the commander in chief, to be likewise distinguished by a white plume.

The uniform of the other general officers, to be a blue coat, with yellow buttons, gold epaulets, linings and facings of buff—the under-cloathes the same with those of the commander in chief.

The major generals, to be distinguished by two silver stars, in each epaulet, and except the inspector general, by a black and white plume, the black below.— The brigadier

to be distinguished, by one silver star on each epaulet, and by a red and white plume, the red below. The aids, of all general officers, who are taken from regiments, and the officers of inspection to wear the uniform of the regiments from which they are taken. The aids to be severally distinguished by the like plumes, which are worn by the general officers, to whom they are respectively attached.

The uniform of the aids of the commander in chief, when not taken from regiments, to be a blue coat, with yellow buttons, and gold epaulet, buff lining and facings—the same under-cloathes with the commander in chief.

The Inspector general, his aids, and the officers of inspection generally, to be distinguished by a blue plume. The Quarter Master General, and other military officers in his department, to be distinguished by a green plume.

The uniform of the infantry and artillery to be a blue coat, with white buttons, and red facings, white under-cloathes and cocked hats—the length of the officer's coats to reach to the knees, the coats of the infantry, to be lined with white, of the artillery with red. The uniform of the cavalry, to be a green coat, with white buttons, lining, and facings; white vest and breeches, and helmet caps.

Each Colonel, to be distinguished by two epaulets; each Major, by one epaulet on the right shoulder, and a strap on the left. All the Field Officers, (except as above) and the Regimental Staff, to wear red plumes—the Officers of Companies are to wear no plumes.

Captains to be distinguished by an epaulet on the right shoulder: Lieutenants by one on the left shoulder; Cadets, by a strap on the right shoulder. The epaulets and straps of the regimental officers to be of silver.

Serjeant-majors and Quarter-master-serjeants, to be distinguished by two red worsted epaulets; Serjeants by a like epaulet on the right shoulder; Corporals, by a like epaulet on the left shoulder; the flank companies to be distinguished by red wings on the shoulders.

The coats of the Musicians to be of the colours of the facings of the corps to which they severally belong. The Chief Musicians to wear two white worsted epaulets.

All the Civil Staff of the Army, to wear plain blue coats, with yellow buttons, and white under-cloathes.

No gold or silver lace, except in the epaulets and straps to be worn.

The commissioned officers, and cadets, to wear swords. All persons belonging to the army to wear a black

cockade with a small white Eagle in the centre. The cockade of non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates to be of leather, with Eagles of tin.

The regiments to be distinguished from each other, numerically. The number of each regiment to be expressed on the buttons.

By Command of the President.

GIVEN at the War Office of the United States, in Philadelphia, this 9th day of January, A. D. 1799, and in the twenty-third year of the Independence of the said states

JAMES HENRY,
Secretary of War.

Letter from Charles Francis Adams to Malcolm Hay Declining to Become a Candidate for the Presidency.

Geneva 18 December 1871

Sir,

On the eve of quitting this place for a season, I received the letter of the 20th of last month, which you were so good as to address to me.

Very much to my surprise, I received from my government an unsolicited call for my poor services in a position of high responsibility on this side of the water. I was desired to stand as a representative of the Nation, and not merely of any part of it. Such a call is in my years a command which it does not become a good citizen to disobey.

You invite me whilst occupying this position to give my view of the current political condition of the country, at the same time that you are pleased to communicate to me very flattering intimations of the personal confidence you and your friends have in me in connection with the next Presidential election. Such an association I cannot even affect to misunderstand.

Returning to you the warmest thanks for this friendly expression of opinion, I feel it at the same time my duty to point out the fact, that my acceptance of your invitation would at once deprive me of the position of which I am most proud. I should cease to be a representative of the whole people, and fall into that of a portion of it however large and respectable it might be.

I am not insensible to the fact that a position like that of the Presidency can scarcely be gained excepting through the agency of a party. Neither am I ignorant of the relation that many of our most illustrious statesmen have deemed it not unbecoming their dignity to maintain, to the parties upon whom their elevation might depend. Disclaiming all

intention to disparage their motives or their action, I beg pardon for my presumption in adopting a different course. In my deliberate judgement the Presidency is a position scarcely worth accepting if it be not offered by the spontaneous decree of the people that award it. You will therefore, I trust, not be surprised, or displeased, if I kindly but respectfully decline the appearance of solicitation which might be inferred from my acceding to your request.

I remain, very truly yours,

Charles Francis Adams.

In A Colonial Churchyard.

By M. E. Buhler.

To God the glory! We, who lie
Humbly beneath the quiet sky,
Have drawn the water, hewn the wood,
And made the best of life we could,
Winning the sweetness born of strength
And, through much striving, peace at length.

Great were the perils in our way,
And hard the labors of that day;
But over all the blue sky bent,
And winding through the meadows went
The wide "Greate River" to sea,
Catching the sunlight gloriously!

Still on the blue horizon sleep
The curving hill lines; and there sweep
Cloud shadows over vale and hill,
Now chased by sunlight, and now still;
The locusts chant amid the trees;
Above the clover hum the bees;
And crickets chirping in the grass
Make sweet the long days as they pass.

To God the glory! We, who dwelt
Long in these quiet vales, have felt
All that there is in life to feel—
Its depths of wo, its heights of weal;
And to our children's children leave
Inheritance to joy and grieve,
And fight triumphantly as we!
To God the glory still shall be!

THE BELLMAN.

FORTIFYING PITTSBURGH IN 1863.

Historic Document Gives Interesting Record of the Men Who Worked on Construction of Coal Hill Fort.

By John P. Cowan

Pittsburgh—the "fortress of Pittsburgh," if you please —four times has been fortified. Hereabouts in succession have been erected: Fort Duquesne by the French; Fort Pitt by the British; Fort La Fayette by the American Federal Government, and the cordon of redoubts and rifle pits constructed by the citizens working in conjunction with the Federal authorities in defense against the Confederates in 1863. These fortifications, except Fort Pitt, were thrown up under stress of emergency, the redoubts in the War of the Secession being built with feverish haste.

Only once did this fortress undergo a siege. After two successful sallies from Fort Duquesne the French demolished their works on the approach of General Forbes; in Pontiac's War, Fort Pitt closely invested by Indian warriors until relieved by Bouquet's victory at Bushy Run; General Anthony Wayne's enterprise in mobilizing his troops on the frontier north of the Ohio saved Fort La Fayette from any fear of attack, and all danger to Pittsburgh from the Confederates passed when the flower of Lee's army withered before the stone breastworks at Gettysburg.

Pittsburgh's geographical position and the topography of the surrounding country give the place a peculiar fascination for military engineers. Even in the present war the strategic position of Pittsburgh appealed to the imagination of the map makers. If Germany should win in Europe, they said, and the war were carried to America, "the decisive battle would be fought on the line of the Allegheny river near Pittsburgh." (This was before the mettle of the American marines had been felt at Belleau Wood and before the Keystone division had helped to stem the tide of the German drive at Chateau Thierry.)

After the Indian wars,Pittsburgh's danger of invasion was largely imaginary. With well equipped armies in the field in its defense it is inconceivable how a foe could be expected to force mountain passes through hundreds of miles of natural barriers devoid of lines of communication, or pass large rivers. With her shores defended by fighting men of the prowess shown by the soldiers who carried Pershing's victorious lines through the tangled forest of Argonne,

America may feel little concern for the safety of her great arsenal at the Forks of the Ohio. Since America has attained, and will hold, supremacy in the air; since her navy maintains the standard set by Paul Jones, Perry, Farragut and Dewey, and her land troops in the last few months have added lustre to the brilliant traditions of Saratoga and Yorktown, New Orleans, Buena Vista, Gettysburg and San Juan, the fictionists who trace inland invasions of the United States find their maps dull and obsolete.

Looking back through more than half a century it is difficult to realize the extent of the excitement that seized the War Department and the inhabitants of western Pennsylvania in the early summer of 1863. To invade the Monongahela valley and its tributary territory, it would have been necessary for General Lee to turn his back on the Army of the Potomac—to execute a movement something similar to that of Ludendorf in his attack on Rheims last July. But the Confederate commander—an American bred fighter—played no such false strategy, nor courted defeat through blunders resulting from spectacular campaigns. On crossing Mason & Dixon's line Lee turned eastward through the broad highways and the bountiful fields toward the Susquehanna—to envelope Baltimore and Washington.

When on June 9th, 1863, Lee started his corps commanders toward Pennsylvania there was no suggestion among the Confederates of penetration to Pittsburgh. When a few days later he allowed Stuart to take his cavalry on a dash within cannon-shot of the defenses of Washington, there was not left even the opportunity for a raid toward the Monongahela. Had Lee been victorious at Gettysburg, Philadelphia and not Pittsburgh would have been his goal in Pennsylvania.

The War Department and the inhabitants of western Pennsylvania, however, had no opportunity to view the situation in perspective in June, 1863. The smoke of Chancellorsville still clouded the military situation in Virginia and the losses sustained in the ill-advised attack on Fredericksburg were fresh in mind. It was remembered, too, how in the previous autumn Kirby Smith had almost reached the environs of Cincinnati. While Ewell, Hill and Longstreet were leading their victorious columns across the Potomac, word came that Morgan and his raiders had crossed the Ohio and were heading northward through Indiana. For the National cause it was the darkest hour of the war.

The Department of the Monongahela, organized sometime before, became at once an important post. The immediate fortification of Pittsburgh was ordered and volun-

teers were called for enrollment to man the home defenses. Thomas M. Howe, assistant adjutant general, issued the call for troops on June 18th. For two weeks a flood of rumors had reached Pittsburgh exaggerating the possibility of invasion. Surveys were quickly made for redoubts encircling the city from the north on the Perrysville road, on Herron Hill, overlooking the Monongahela beyond Squirrel Hill and on Coal Hill south of the city. The redoubts were defended by long ranges of rifle pits. To construct the fortifications civilian workers were pressed into service from every walk in life. The majority were recruited from the mills and factories and coal mines, but many with tender hands and unused to manual labor were employed in the effort to complete the works in the shortest possible time. Before Lee had established his headquarters on Pennsylvania soil, Pittsburgh was entrenched!

One of the most notable of this chain of redoubts was "Fort Mechanic" which crowned a peak on Coal Hill opposite the business portion of the city and commanded approaches from the south by way of the Brownsville road, the old Washington road and the valley of Little Sawmill run. This fort was built in less than a week by men largely furnished from the adjacent mines of the Pittsburgh Coal Company. A most interesting document in connection with the fortifying of Pittsburgh in 1863 is the time-book kept for the workers on Coal Hill. This book, in the possession of Mr. Omar S. Decker, gives intimate sidelights on the military system in those days as well as the name of each worker, the time he was employed and the amount he received. Many of the names are still familiar among the residents of the South Hills district. Men qualifying as regular hands were paid $1.25 a day. Boys who carried water to the thirsty pick-and-shovel men received 75 cents a day.

The work began in the middle of the day on Monday, June 15th. On Friday, June 19th, the workers received pay for only half a day. On Sunday, June 21st, the fear of invasion did not prevent the pious observance of the Sabbath and there was no work on that day. On Monday the fortifications were completed. On July 3rd, as if to celebrate the victory at Gettysburg, the men were paid off.

Fort Mechanic, until 20 years ago, was a conspicuous landmark. Its embrasures were plainly visible and the rifle pits still scarred the hillside. When the Castle Shannon Inclined Plane was built, the eastern side was carved out of the redoubt, and recent grading and paving of streets has obliterated the last vestige of the zigzag trenches. A tenement house has been built on the remaining portion of

the redoubt, but its outlines may still be traced in the approaches to the dwelling.

Following are the entries in the Pittsburgh Coal Company's time-book:

Paid July 3d, 1863.

Amounts paid Pittsburgh Coal Co's Hands for working on Fortifications in June, 1863.

	Days	Price	
Ammon, Peter	4	$1.25	$5.60
Ammon, John	5	"	6.85
Beazel, Charles	5	"	6.85
Baker, Crist	3	"	4.35
Baker, George	6	"	7.50
Boobenheimer, A.	5	"	6.85
Boldolph, Sam	4	"	5.60
Barrett, C.	1	"	1.25
(Red ink lines are drawn through Mr. Barrett's name and it is noted that he worked for Jno. C. Perry.)			
Bohing, Henry	4	"	5.00
Baker, Adam	1	.75	.75
Cassiday, Wm.	6	1.25	7.50
Cortz, John	6	"	7.50
Collier, Wm.	6	"	7.50
Clark, Jas.	5	"	6.25
Bender, Chs.	5	"	6.85
Beltzhoover, Geo.	6	"	7.50
Deal, Peter	5	"	6.85
Datty, Fred	4	"	5.60
Diedrick, Henry	4	"	5.00
Dewald, John	6	.75	4.50
Dewald, Pete Jr.	6	"	4.50
Derr, Nick	1	1.25	1.85
Dewald, David	5	"	6.85
Edwards, Wm.	3	"	4.35
Ells, Charles	3	"	4.35
Fisher, Val	6	"	7.50
Fisher, Jacob	6	"	7.50
Fisher, George	6	"	7.50
Feet, Sam	5	"	6.85
Free, Jake	1	"	1.85
Grim, Philip	6	"	7.50
Green, Wm.	6	"	7.50
Green, Geo.	6	"	7.50
Haas, August	6	"	7.50
Haas, Henry	6	"	7.50
Haas, Wm.	6	"	7.50
Hohman, John	5	"	6.85
Heman, Geo.	4	"	5.60
Hickman, Peter	5	"	6.85
Heyer, Nick	6	"	7.50
Heyer, Fred	5	"	6.85
Hein, Jacob	6	"	7.50
Hufnagle, Geo.	6	"	7.50
Hershbim, D.	6	.75	4.50
Jones, Bred	3	1.25	3.75
Jones, Bill		"	.60
Jacobs, Geo.	6	"	7.50

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Following are the entries in the Pittsburgh Coal Company's time-book:

Amounts paid Pittsburgh Coal Co's Hands for working on Fortifications in June, 1863.

	Days	Price
Ammon, Peter	4	$1.25
Ammon, John	3	"
Bezzel, Charles	6	"
Baker, Chas	3	"
Baker, George	6	"
Boobenheimer, A.	5	"
Bolldolph, Sam	4	"
Barrett, C.	1	"

(Red ink lines are drawn through Mr. Barrett's name and it is noted that he worked for Jno. C. Parry.)

Bolting, Henry	4	"
Baker, Adam	1	.75
Cassidey, Wm.	6	1.25
Corts, John	6	"
Collier, Wm.	3	"
Clark, Jas.	5	"
Bender, Chas.	5	"
Relinhoover, Geo.	3	"
Deal, Peter	5	"
Datty, Fred	3	"
Diedrick, Henry	1	"
Dewald, John	6	.75
Dewald, Pete Jr.	6	"
Dam, Nick	1	1.25
Dewald, David	5	"
Edwards, Wm.	3	"
Ely, Charles	3	"
Fisher, Val	6	"
Fisher, Jacob	6	"
Fisher, George	6	"
Feet, Sam	5	"
Free, Jake	1	"
Grim, Philip	5	"
Green, Wm.	6	"
Green, Geo.	5	"
Haas, August	3	"
Hass, Henry	3	"
Hass, Wm.	3	"
Holman, John	5	"
Haman, Geo.	4	"
Richman, Peter	4	"
Heyer, Nick	3	"
Heyer, Fred	3	"
Hom, Jacob	6	"
Halpaugh, Geo.	6	"
Herbstine, B.	3	.75
Jones, Fred	1	1.25
Jones, Bill	6	"
Jacobs, Geo.	5	"

	Days	Price	
Koch, Val	5	1.25	6.25
Kohlman, Wm.	6	1.25	7.50
Karck, C.	4	"	5.00
Kecher, Phil	6	"	7.50
Lipla, Henry Jr.	6	.75	4.50
Lipla, Fred	6	"	4.50
Lipla, Henry Sr.	6	1.25	7.50
Lutz, Fred	4	"	5.60
Mesmer, Jake	6	"	7.50
Metcalf, Tom	6	"	7.50
Miller, Jacob	6	"	7.50
Miller, Chs.	6	"	7.50
Moser, John	6	"	7.50
Martin, Sam	4	"	5.60
Mentz, Peter	5	"	6.25
Milholland, F. Caleb	5	1.00	5.00
Milholland, Harvey	5	.75	3.75
Meier, Charley	5	.75	4.10
McKain, Sam	3	"	3.60
McManus, Tom	5	1.25	6.25
Nape, Henry	6	"	7.50
Ovinger, Jacob	6	"	7.50
Ovinger, Fred	6	"	7.50
Perry, Thos.	6	"	7.50
Perry, Tom	6	"	7.50
Perry, Geo.	1	"	1.25
Perry, W.	1	.75	.75
Phillips, Frank	1	"	.75
Phillips, Geo.	5	1.00	5.50
Quigg, Geo.	2	1.25	3.10
Rhodes, Pete Sr.	6	"	7.50
Rhodes, Pete Jr.	6	"	7.50
Rosemeier, Fred	3	"	4.35
Soon, Philip	6	"	7.50
Safoot, Henry	5	"	6.85
Stone, Charles	4	"	5.00
Sims, Chs.	6	"	7.50
Siple, Adolph	5	"	6.85
Safoot, Philip	6	"	7.50
Sherg, Jacob	5	"	6.25
Smith, Fred	6	"	7.50
Smith, Geo.	6	"	7.50
Smith, Isaac	5	"	6.85
Smith, Wm.	4	"	5.00
Shackly, Dan'l	6	"	7.50
Semindinger, F.	5	"	6.85
Stone, Jacob	5	"	6.85

	Days	Price
Koch, Val	5	1.25
Kohlman, Wm.	6	1.25
Karck, C.	4	"
Kecher, Phil	6	"
Lipla, Henry Jr.	6	.75
Lipla, Fred	6	"
Lipla, Henry Sr.	6	1.25
Lutz, Fred	4	"
Mesmer, Jake	6	"
Metcalf, Tom	6	"
Miller, Jacob	6	"
Miller, Chs.	6	"
Moser, John	6	"
Martin, Sam	4	"
Mentz, Peter	5	"
Miholland, F. Caleb	6	1.00
Miholland, Harvey	5	.75
Meier, Charley	5	.75
McKain, Sam	3	"
McManus, Tom	5	1.25
Nape, Henry	6	"
Ovinger, Jacob	6	"
Ovinger, Fred	6	"
Perry, Thos.	6	"
Perry, Tom	6	"
Perry, Geo.	1	"
Perry, W.	1	.75
Phillips, Frank	1	"
Phillips, Geo.	5	1.00
Quigg, Geo.	2	1.25
Rhodes, Pete Sr.	6	"
Rhodes, Pete Jr.	6	"
Rosemeier, Fred	3	"
Soon, Philip	6	"
Safoot, Henry	5	"
Stone, Charles	4	"
Sims, Chs.	6	"
Siple, Adolph	5	"
Safoot, Philip	6	"
Sherg, Jacob	5	"
Smith, Fred	6	"
Smith, Geo.	6	"
Smith, Isaac	5	"
Smith, Wm.	4	"
Shackly, Dan'l	6	"
Semindinger, F.	5	"
Stone, Jacob	5	"

	Days	Price	
Shuster, Jacob	6	1.25	7.50
Schrack, Jacob	5	"	6.25
Thomas, Thos.	6	"	7.50
Toones, Geo.	4	"	5.60
Thompson, Jas.	3	"	3.75
Vietmeier, John	4	"	5.60
Wilbert, Peter	5	"	6.25
Wilbert, Crist	5	"	6.25
Weihe, Wm.	6	"	7.50
Wensel, John	6	"	7.50
Walter, Geo.	6	"	7.50
Wehn, Henry	1	"	1.25
Wilbraham, H.	2	"	3.10
Wile, Math	2	"	2.50
Wile, Adolph	4	1.00	4.00
Young, Wm.	6	1.25	7.50
Zeila, John	6	"	7.50
			0.00
Beamer, Fred	5	"	6.25
Buckner, Crist	6	"	7.50
Bearing, I. B.	2	"	3.10
Beisel, Gob	6	"	7.50
			0.00
Lauterbach, Crist	6	"	7.50
Layman, Aug.	6	"	7.50
Smith, John		"	.60
Hein, Wm.	1	"	1.85
Total			$699.80
Less .60 not paid to Geo. Herman			.60
Grand Total			$699.20

	Days	Price	
Shuster, Jacob	5	1.25	7.50
Schrock, Jacob	5	"	6.25
Thomas, Thos.	6	"	7.50
Toones, Geo.	4	"	5.00
Thompson, Jas.	3	"	3.75
Vietmeier, John	4	"	5.00
Wilbert, Peter	5	"	6.25
Wilbert, Crist	5	"	6.25
Wells, Wm.	6	"	7.50
Wensel, John	6	"	7.50
Walter, Geo.	6	"	7.50
Wehn, Henry	1	"	1.25
Wilbraham, H.	2	"	2.50
Wile, Noah	2	"	2.50
Wile, Adolph	4	1.00	4.00
Young, W.G.	5	1.25	7.50
Zeile, John	6	"	7.50
			0.00
Beamer, Fred	5	"	6.25
Buckner, Crist	6	"	7.50
Bearing, I. B.	2	"	2.50
Betel, Gob	6	"	7.50
			0.00
Lauterbach, Crist	6	"	7.50
Layman, Aug.	6	"	7.50
Smith, John		"	.50
Hein, Wm.	1	"	1.25
Total			$852.50
Less .50 not paid to Geo. Herman			.50
Grand Total			$852.00

Notes and Queries.

PITTSBURGH IS SPELLED WITH AN 'H' SO DECIDED UNITED STATES GEOGRAPHIC BOARD IN DECIDING CONTROVERSY.*

"The United States Geographic Board has said the final word and the long controversy is decided in favor of the historic Pittsburgh with an 'h.' The board had formerly decided that the 'h' should be dropped as superfluous. There was a protest from those who wished to adhere to the orthography that had been in use from the growth of the municipality. Today Senator Oliver received a letter from C. S. Sloan, secretary of the board, saying that the former action had been reconsidered and that hereafter the government of the United States in all its writings and publications will spell it Pittsburgh. The letter to Senator Oliver follows:

'United States Geographic Board,
Washington, D. C. July 20, 1911.

Hon. George T. Oliver, United States Senate:
Sir: At a special meeting of the United States Geographic Board held on July 19, 1911, the previous decision with regard to the spelling of Pittsburgh without a final H was reconsidered and the form given below was adopted:

Pittsburgh, a city in Pennsylvania (not Pittsburg).

Very respectfully,
C. S. SLOAN,
Secretary.

**The Gazette Times*, July 22, 1911.

NATURALIZATION PAPERS OF DANIEL HAY, THE GREAT GRANDFATHER OF HON. MALCOLM HAY, NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF SOUTHARD HAY, ESQ., THE SON OF MALCOLM HAY.

I do hereby certify that Daniel Hay of Philadelphia hath voluntarily taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance and fidelity, as directed by an Act of General Assembly of Pennsylvania, passed the 13th day of June, A. D. 1777. Witness my hand and seal this eleventh day of October, A. D. 1784.

W. MASTERS.

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* L S *
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List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

41—A Deed

from Dr. Nathaniel Bedford, dated February 16, 1813, to Samuel Hare, for lot in the town of Birmingham.

Presented by Charles O. Hare.

42—Three Pieces of Wood

representing "two arrows piercing a shield," one arrow, a piece of Walnut-Wood from Commodore Oliver Perry's flag-ship "Lawrence." Sunk 1812. Raised 1876.

The other arrow, piece of Oak-Wood from the "Royal Savage" Benedict Arnold's flag-ship in the battle of Valcour, Lake Champlain, October 11th, 1776. First battle fought between American and British Ships. Sunk 1776. Raised in 1901.

The Shield a piece of Oak-Wood from Commodore Oliver Perry's rescue-ship "Niagara." Sunk 1812. Raised 1912.

Made and Presented by Dr. C. J. Reynolds.

43—A Gavel

made from wood taken from back of mantel of General St. Clair's mansion near Ligonier, Penn'a.

Presented by Mrs. Theodocia B. Wynn.

44—Ancient Chair

which belonged to John Winthrop first Governor of Massachusetts Colony. The Winthrop chair evidently was hacked out with a hatchet or some other rough tool. The wood of which it is made is badly decayed inside, but the art of the restorer has been successful in preventing this from being seen on the surface. It came into possession of John Gager in 1650, his father Dr. George Gager an Englishman and John Winthrop crossed the Atlantic together. After the death of Dr. George Gager his son John Gager removed to Connecticut, where the Gager family have since lived. In 1898 the chair was given to Mabelle Gager Phillips by her grand-mother Mrs. Samuel Gager.

Loaned by Mrs. John L. Phillips,
(Mabelle Gager Phillips.)

45—A Fifty-Dollar Confederate Bill.

Presented by Miss Alice Lathrop.

46—Knife

found by Isaac N. A. Gill, about 1835 on the site of General Forbes' last encampment, before the capture of Fort-Duquesne.

Presented by Mr. George A. Gill.

47—Book

an original copy published in 1765 of the Historical account of Colonel Bouquets Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764. This copy was presented to James Veech in 1837 by James Ross, Esq. of Pittsburgh.

Presented by Miss R. L. Veech.

48—Glass Case

containing knife made from piece of wood taken from the "Lawrence" Commodore Oliver Perry's Flag-Ship that was destroyed by the British in the battle of Lake-Erie, September 10th, 1813. Knife and fork made from piece of wood taken from the "Niagara" Commodore Perry's Rescue-Ship, September 10th, 1813.

Presented by Pennsylvania Society
Sons of American Revolution.

49—Engraving

representation of Peace between The United States and Great-Britain, made in England in 1781, and of which only two other copies are said to exist in this country, one in Washington, D. C. the other in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

Presented by Dr. John L. Phillips.

50—Silver Log-Cabin Pencil

representing the Log-Cabin and Hard Cider Presidential Campaign of 1840, when General Harrison was the Candidate. Pencil belonged to Mr. Edwin Miles.

Presented by Miss Sarah E. Miles.

51—Scissors

found on the site of Fort-Duquesne when the men were digging for the foundation of a saw-mill for Col. S. M. Wickersham, about the year 1850.

Presented by E. O. Wickersham.

52—Stone used by Indians

for grinding corn was found on a farm in O'Hara Township Allegheny County, purchased by Mr. George Wragg in 1838 and was part of and projected above a flat rock about the size of the top of a dining table. It is located on a wooded bluff at an elevation of 25 feet above Squaw Run at a point about 600 feet east of the Township Road which runs north to the Kittanning Pike and near its intersection with the Glade-Run Road.

This stone was used by Guyasuta's Band of Indians, and was broken from its base about thirty years ago by relic hunters, and used since as a drinking place for birds. The site on which the stone was located is now owned by the Pittsburgh Field Club.

Presented by Mrs. Sarah Wragg Hanlin.

53—Cane Made of Wood

from Old Fort-Duquesne 1753. Given to Edwin Miles in 1854.

Presented by Mr. George K. Miles.

54—Piece of the Andersonville Stockade

made of Georgia pine, and given by Mr. George Lintern, Pittston, Penn'a, whose father was a prisoner in 1863.

Presented by Miss Ernestine M. Kaehlin,
Wilkes-Barre, Penn'a.

55—Black Ring

made from a button cut from the coat of General Edgars, (Confederate Officer) by a soldier of the 140th, Penn'a. Volunteers' campaign of 1864 before Richmond.

Presented by Miss Alice Lothrop.

56—Gift of Zoological Specimens

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania is indebted to Mrs. G. A. Sloan, of Wilkinsburg, Pa., for the gift of valuable Western Pennsylvania zoological specimens. The collection belonged to Mr. Thomas Rankin, Mrs. Sloan's father. It fills six large glass cases and embraces birds, mamals, shells, etc., besides many interesting historical relics.

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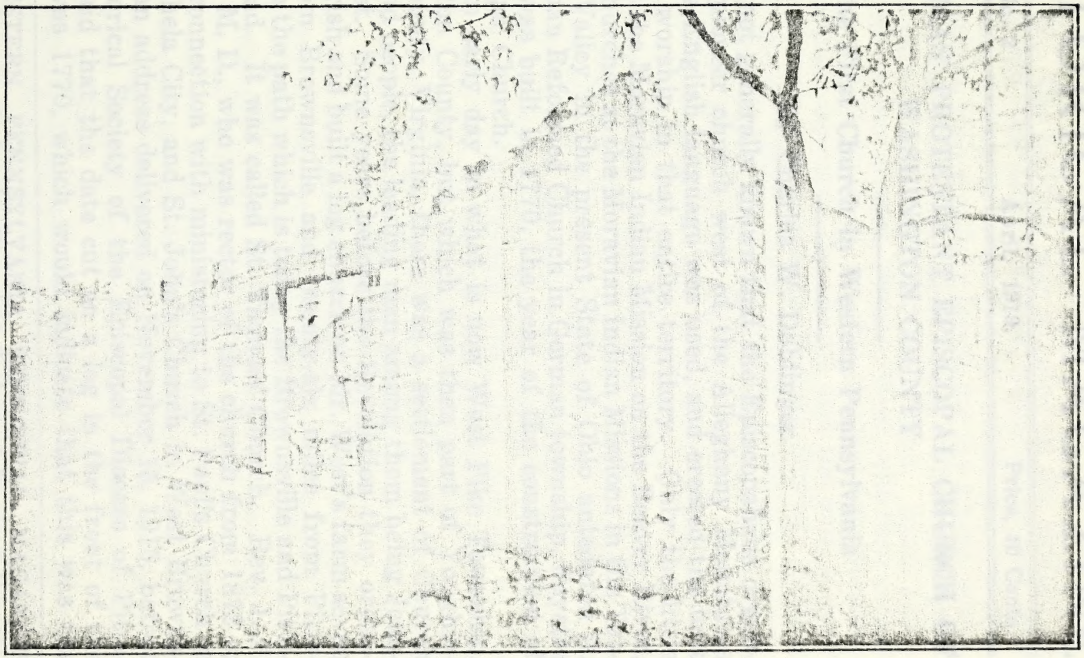

St. Thomas' Church as it appeared in 1903

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 2, No. 2 April, 1919. Price, 40 Cents.

ST. THOMAS' PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF WASHINGTON COUNTY

The First Church in Western Pennsylvania

By Charles W. Dahlinger

It is not generally known that the Episcopalians organized the pioneer church west of the Alleghany Mountains where the English language was used, and erected the first house of worship in that entire territory. Only the little church at the Moravian Indian Mission on the Beaver River, and the churches at the Moravian Indian Missions in the Tuscarawas Valley in the present State of Ohio antedated it. The German Reformed Church in German township, Fayette County, was built in 1770, the year of the construction of St. Thomas' Church.

At an early day in what is now West Pike Township, Washington County, but which was then part of Youghiogheny County, Virginia, there was a settlement of Church of England people, the leading man among them being Jonathan West. Some years before the Revolution they organized a parish and built a log church on Mr. West's farm seven miles from Brownsville and twenty-six miles from Pittsburgh, on the path which is today the Brownsville and Pittsburgh road. It was called St. Thomas' Church. Rev. J. P. Norman, M. D., who was rector of the church from 1872 to 1875, in connection with ministering to St. Paul's Church in Monongahela City, and St. John's Church in West Brownsville, in an address delivered on November 15, 1915, before the Historical Society of the Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh, said that the date cut on a log in the front of the church was 1770, which would indicate that this was the

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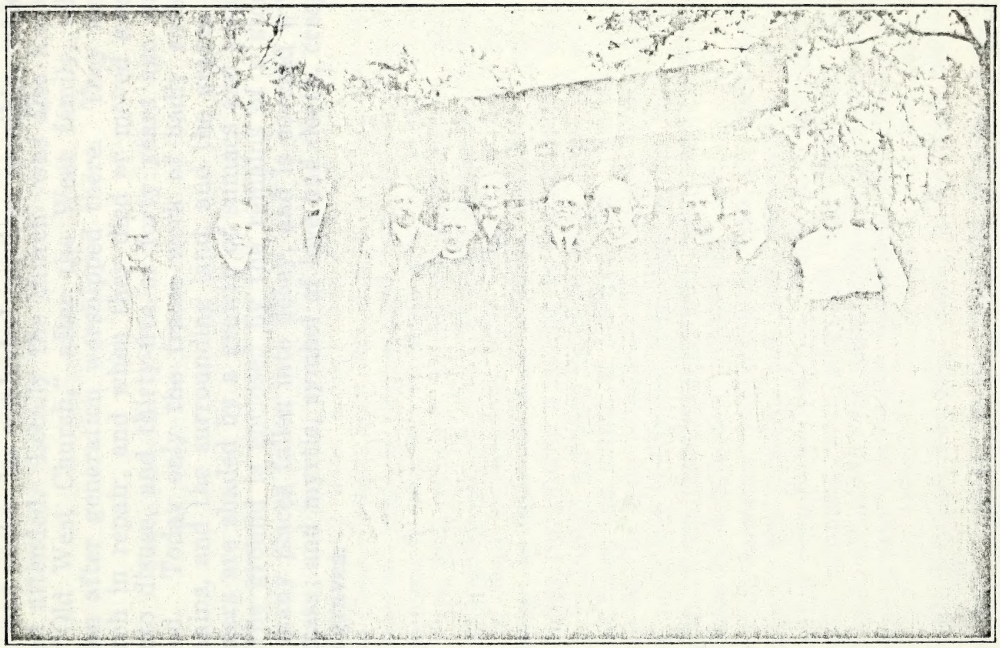
year of its erection. Afred Creigh, in his *History of Washington County*, on what authority is not known, gives the date as 1777. The building was situated on the summit of a long steep hill, was almost square, being thirty feet long by twenty-six or twenty-seven feet in width, and was two stories in height with a gallery inside for the slaves, which went around three sides of the building. The stairs leading to the gallery were inside of the church. Some years after the church was erected, Thomas West, who then owned the farm on which it stood, for the nominal consideration of five shillings, conveyed the church and the acre of land by which it was surrounded, to Thomas Dowler, William Crawford, Henry Gregg, John Gregg, Frederick Cooper, Jacob Springer, James Ellis, Edward Morton, Robert Kerr, William Riggs, Jacob Crabs and John Housh, vestrymen and trustees of the church. The Rev. Robert Ayres was the first rector of whom there is any knowledge. The church and the rector are both of peculiar interest, because in front of this building and by this rector, in 1794, during the darkest days of the Whisky Insurrection, a decided stand was taken in favor of law and order. Creigh (2) tells the story: While the insurgents were marching toward Parkinson's Ferry, now Monongahela City, they stopped at the church, in which Mr. Ayres was then preaching, and for his sentiments, he advocating the loyalty of the citizens toward the government, the insurgents took him from the pulpit, determined to shoot him, but finally set him free, when he returned to the church and finished his sermon.

In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, St. Thomas' Church was the most important Episcopal Church in Western Pennsylvania, far outranking Trinity Church, the first Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh. It was here that in 1819 the few Episcopal clergymen in Western Pennsylvania met and set in motion a movement for the organization of a diocese for the Western country to comprise the western counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the state of Ohio, which resulted eight years later in the formation of the Diocese of Ohio.

The Episcopalians were liberal in the use of their building, and at intervals for many years, other denominations were permitted to worship there. Thus services were held in the church by Old-school Presbyterians, by Cumberland Presbyterians, by Free-will Baptists and by others. In 1870 when Creigh wrote, the church had been weather-boarded on the outside, had plastered walls and was ceiled overhead. A unique feature was a stone in the gallery, seventeen inches by twenty in size, on which was inscribed: "Surely the Lord



All that remained of St. Thomas' Church in 1915. Members of the Historical Society of the Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh are in the foreground.

is here. How dreadful is this place. This is no other but the house of God and gate of heaven. A. D. 1791."

In the later years of the church's existence Episcopal services were held there only intermittently. When Mr. Norman was rector he conducted services monthly, which were well attended. Locally the church was also known as the "Old West Church," after the West family, who generation after generation worshipped there. They kept the church in repair, and when they died or moved away it fell into disuse, and thirty-five or forty years ago was abandoned. Today only the frame work of badly rotted logs remains, and the surrounding land, and the graves of the pioneers are shaded by a growth of sumacs and young trees. The ground is enclosed by the remains of a stone wall, in many places fallen into decay, and is covered with coarse grass; and myrtle, symbol of love and death, creeps over the graves.

THE FRONTIER POLICY OF PENNSYLVANIA

BY GEORGE ARTHUR CRIBBS

THE DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIER.

CHAPTER III.
1682-1800

The Quaker's Attitude Toward War.

(Continued from January number.)

Pacifism was one of the fundamental tenets of the Society of Friends. War, according to their view, could not be justified in any form. They followed the teaching of Christianity that the nations should beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. "Nor," argues Penn, "ought they for this to be obnoxious to Civil Government: since if they cannot fight for it, they cannot fight against it, which is no mean security to any state." (1) They were firm believers in the state and bowed obediently to its authority except when the law's demands clashed with those of their consciences. (2) Then they were adamant. Whenever, in spite of their political opposition, provisions were made for raising a militia in Pennsylvania, they as a society remained sullenly inactive. even when not expressly excused from the action of the law. (3) He who lived according to the true principals of religion, they contended, needed no other protection than that of the God "Who for the Sake of ten righteous Persons would have spared even the Cities of Sodom and Gomorrah." (4)

It was, however, impossible to hold all their members, particularly the younger and more progressive, to this orthodox but unnatural doctrine. There soon appeared a considerable minority who, although they held the orthodox belief as to offensive war, maintained that in case of attack a defensive war was clearly justifiable. (5) These at times

(1) PENN, WILLIAM, *Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers*, 37

(2) *Votes of Assembly*, II, 99. "That the Majority of the Inhabitants of this Province being of the People called Quakers, religiously persuaded against war, and therefore cannot be active therein; yet are as fully persuaded, and believe it to be their bounden Duty to pay Tribute, and yield due Obedience to the Powers God has set over them in all things, as far as their religious persuasions can permit."

(3) *Col. Rec.*, XV, 418.

(4) *Votes of Assembly*, III, 367.

(5) FRANKLIN, *Autobiography*, 151.

even took part in military operations, (1) but their action was always promptly repudiated by the society.

A distinction was also made between warfare and the preservation of internal peace. Their state existed primarily for the maintenance of public order; and if its existence was to continue, it must have the power to protect itself against internal insurrections and rebellions. (2) It must maintain order if necessary at the point of the magistrate's sword. The execution of a criminal, whose existence threatened the life and property of every individual within the state, was considered quite different from the killing on the battlefield of a soldier whose only crime was obedience to the command of his sovereign. The Quakers sympathized with and aided in raising money for the construction of a fort below the city of Philadelphia as a protection against pirates. (3) Some even aided in the work of construction.

While the Quakers were principled against participating personally in any military undertaking, they did not condemn the use of arms by others. Franklin states that the defence of the province was not disagreeable to them as long as they were not required to assist in it. (4) When in times of public danger the governor stated to the assembly his purpose to put the province in a condition for defence, they offered usually no objection as long as military service remained purely a voluntary matter. (5)

Penn himself was opposed to the use of force as has been shown by the quotation from his *Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers.* He also drew up a plan for the pacification of Europe. (6) When confronted with the actual necessities of government, his ac-

(1) *Mem. Pa. Hist. Soc.*, X, 130-136.

(2) BUDD, THOMAS, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, 73. "I do believe it to be both lawful and expedient to bring offenders to justice by the power of the magistrate's sword, which is not to be used in vain, but may be used against such as raise Rebellions and Insurrections against the Government of the Country, be they Indians or others, otherwise it is vain for us to pretend to Magistracy or Goverment."

(3) *True and Impartial State of the Province of Pennsylvania*, 49; ROUSSELOT DE SURGY, *Historie naturelle et Politique de la Pennsylvanie*, 201. "La crainte de tomber en un instant an pouvoir des corsaires ennemis, leur fit supprimer toutes representations. Quelquesuns meme y travaillerent de leurs mains d'autres fournirent de l'argent, & toutes les provisions necessaires."

(4) FRANKLIN, *Autobiography*, 151.

(5) *Votes of Assembly*, II, 274.

(6) *See Old South Leaflets*, III, No. 75.

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(3) Tyne and Imperial State of the Province of Pennsylvania, 16; Rousseau de Scury, Histoire naturelle et Politique de la Pensylvanie, 292. "La crainte de tomber en un instant au pouvoir des corsaires barbares, leur fit augmenter toutes représentations. Quelques-uns même y travaillerent de leurs mains d'autre à tourment de l'argent, & toutes les provisions nécessaires."

(4) Franklin, Autobiography, 161.

(5) Votes of Assembly, II, 274.

(6) See Old South Leaflets, III, No. 72.

tions did not conform exactly to his theory. He accepted from the king a charter which empowered him to levy, muster, and train troops, to make war, and to pursue enemies or robbers even beyond the limits of the province. (1) These are rather extensive military powers for a peaceful minded Quaker, (2) yet there is no record that Penn protested against them. James Logan testifies that in the few years during which the proprietor administered the government in person he found himself so embarrassed between his evident duties as a governor and his expressed convictions as a Quaker that he was determined, if he had remained, to perform those duties through a deputy. (3) During his absences he almost invariably appointed non-Quaker deputy governors. That this was not a premeditated policy can hardly be assumed. James Logan is the most important example of those who refused to be bound by the principle of non-resistance. In 1741 he wrote a letter to the yearly meeting in which he upheld defensive warfare. (4) While condemning offensive war, he maintained that the bearing of arms for self defence is lawful. The Quakers, he says, "although they allege they cannot for Conscience-sake bear Arms, as being contrary to the peace-

(1) HAZARD, *Annals*, 496.

(2) *Votes of Assembly*, III, 365. Governor Thomas to Assembly. "A mind employed as mine has been, about the Defence of the Province, has long since made itself acquainted with the Powers granted in the Royal Charter for that End; and I think that it may be reasonably concluded---that the first Proprietor, tho' one of the People called Quakers, must have entertained an Opinion (however different from yours) of the Lawfulness and Necessity of bearing Arms in the Defence of his Government against the Invasion of Enemies, otherwise he would not have accepted of the Powers of a Captain General in that Charter."

(3) *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VI, 407. James Logan to the Yearly Meeting, 1741: "And I am a witness that in those two years, or somewhat less, that the Proprietor took the Administration on himself, when last here, He found himself so embarrassed between the indespensible Duties of Government on the one Hand, and his profession on the other, that he was determined, if he had staid, to act by a Deputy."

(4) *Ibid*, VI, 402-411. This letter was refused a reading in the meeting. Besides the quotation given in the text, the following extract is interesting: "But as I have always endeavored to think and act consistently myself, observing Friends had laid it down for their Principle, That Bearing of Arms, even for Self-Defence, is unlawful; being of a different Opinion in this Respect, though I ever condemned offensive War, I, therefore, in a great Measure, declined that due attendance on their Meetings of Business, which I might otherwise have given."

able Doctrine of Jesus (whose Disciples nevertheless are known to have carried Weapons) yet, without regard to others of Christ's Precepts, full as express, against laying up Treasure in this World, and not caring for the morrow, they are as intente as any others in amassing Riches."

The Quaker principles were put to their first serious test at the outbreak of the French and Indian War. The frontier inhabitants, incensed by the depredations of the Indians, demanded protection by a military organization. The Quakers stoutly opposed it In opposition to the petitions for defence came their addresses protesting against the use of force and the payment of a tax for such purposes. (1) Committees were sent to interview all those with whom they had any connections; their sermons were adapted to show the sin of taking up arms and to presuade the people to remain true to their principlies. (2) Some even declared that Braddock's Defeat had come as a just judgment for attempting to disturb the French in their settlements. (3) In 1757 the bodies of a number of inhabitants who had been killed and scalped at Swatara Gap were paraded through Lancaster as a spectacle for some Quakers who were then in that town. (4)

When, as the war forced upon the government the adoption of a military policy, the pacifists felt their grip upon the government relaxing, they formed themselves into an extralegal society pledged to maintain, as far as possible, the old doctrines. This was known as *The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by pacific Measures.* During the next few years they, with the aid of the Germans, voluntarily contributed several thousand pounds toward regaining the good will of the Indians. (5) They began in 1756 by opposing a declaration of war against the Indians until pacific measures had first been tried. Finding that the governor and council did not agree with their plans, they addressed a letter to the general assembly. Their efforts to gain this point, however, were in vain. They continued nevertheless to write letters to officers, intrude at treaties, and make presents

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(2) *Ibid*, 4th ser., II, 478.

(3) *Ibid*, 489.

(4) BLACH, THOMAS, *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, 78.

(5) PROUD, *History of Pennsylvania*, II, 335.

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to the Indians in spite of the protests of the governor and proprietors that such actions tended to prevent the successful issue of the government's plans. (1) In 1757 they advanced money to aid in sending messengers to the Ohio Indians in order, if possible, to regain their friendship. (2) During Pontiac's War they were still active. (3)

The Quaker's doctrine was severely criticised by many of his contemporaries, but he seems to have acted according to what he considered the wisest policy. His mistakes were made, to a great extent, because he did not understand the facts. During the early years his principles had been successful in maintaining the peace, and now when difficulties were arising, he thought that peace could be regained by a rigid prosecution of the old policy. Living in the southeastern corner of the province, he knew little of the frontier. He interpreted all news in terms of the olden days when Quakers and Indians smoked together in the shade of the elms. He did not understand that the restless progress of the western pioneers had now aroused in the heart of the Indian the apprehension that he would soon be driven from his hunting grounds. His policy had kept the peace for the first half century when whites were few and land was plenty; and now without considering the great change in conditions, he felt that upon him developed the task of making the policy succeed still.

The Quakers, however, were not the only pacifists. Many of the Germans, belonging to various sects, were also opposed to war. (4) Then, too, having come so recently from the fatherland, they had not yet developed a sense of provincial patriotism. The struggle between the French and the English did not concern them. "They say it is all one to them which king gets the country, since, if they remain quiet, they will be permitted to enjoy their Estates, under the Conqueror, whoever he is; and as they have, many of them, lived under Popish rulers on their own Country, they give out that they know the worst that can happen." (5) But

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 836-837.
Col. Rec., VII, 647-648.

(2) *Ibid*, 391. A receipt from George Croghan to the Friendly Association for one hundred pounds which they had contributed "for regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures, to be employed in sending messengers to the Ohio Indians, and obtaining a Conference with them, in order to endeavor to settle the Differences between them and the Subjects of His Majesty in this and the adjacent Provinces."

(3) *Ibid*, IX, 141.

(4) ROUSELLOT DE SURGY, *Historie*, 223. "Ils sont encore plus ennemis de la violence que les Quakers: car ils ne se permettent pas meme de l'employer pour leur propre defense."

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in the heat of the war, when their lands were being devastated, their homes destroyed and their families murdered, they unlike the Quakers, often abandoned their pacific principles and joined in the defence of the province. This was probably due primarily to their position on the frontier where the necessity of defence was manifiest. The Germans knew at first hand the conditions of which the Quakers, situated about Philadelphia, heard only reports.

Some historians of early Pennsylvania like to dwell upon the pacific principles of the Quakers and the readiness with which the Indians were captivated by their just and friendly measures. According to one of them the Quakers lived unharmed while others were being murdered all about them. (1) Only two Quakers, he writes, were killed by Indians during the period of the wars, and these only when evidence appeared to show that they had given up their pacific principles. It is probably true that but few Quakers lost their lives in the Indian wars. This, however, was not due so much to the Indian's making a distinction between Quaker and non-Quaker as it was to the fact that the territory occupied by the Quakers was comparatively secure. Between them and the danger line was a broad belt of Scotch, Irish, and Germans in whose blood the thirst of the tomahawk was quenched before it could threaten these friends of peace.

Frontier Conditions.

The Quaker method of preserving peace was eminently successful during the first half of the eighteenth century. The Indians lived usually on terms of friendship with his white neighbor. He was ready to furnish food, assistance, or protection whenever they were needed. (2) His love for Penn was almost unbounded. (3) There were naturally occasional differences on questions of land or trade. But before 1750 the great majority of these differences were easily adjusted; the question of an Indian war was seldom seriously involved. During the earlier years attacks were feared from the sea rather than from the forest. (4) In

(1) APPLEGARTH, A. C., *Quakers in Pennsylvania*, 54-56. One case was that of a young man who carried a gun with him on his way to work in order to shoot some squirrels. The other case was that of a young Quaker woman who had not been molested while others were being killed in great numbers. At last her fear became so great that she fled to a fort for safety. The Indians, thinking that she had deserted her pacific principles, killed her.

(2) BUDD, *Good Order*, 65.

(3) *Col. Rec.*, II, 628; III, 288.

(4) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV, 965.

1709, for example, Governor Charles Gookin communicated to the assembly as follows: "The boldness of our Enemies this summer, in Plundering Lewis, Watering in our Bay, and sounding it as they passed along, is so remarkable, that it may justly give us occasion to apprehend a nearer visit; ---But at present we are so unprovided, that there is no money to pay an Express on any occasion." (1) Many demands were made by the crown for military aid against the French and Spanish, but until the second quarter of the eighteenth century there was no question of an attack upon the Pennsylvania frontier.

In April, 1728, however, Indian alarms frightened the frontier inhabitants of the County of Philadelphia and caused them to petition the government to take such measures as might be deemed necessary for their protection. Less than two weeks later, May 10, 1728, the inhabitants of Colebrookdale informed the governor that the Indians had already fallen upon the frontier settlers and that aid was imminently necessary. (2) In 1743, when the situation was becoming much more serious, Governor George Thomas who had formerly, on account of the defenceless condition of the province, petitioned the crown to order for their safety, was directed and required to lay before the king whatever plans he apprehended it would be necessary to adopt for the security of the province. (3) In 1745 the back inhabitants of Lancaster County petitioned the Government to provide them with arms and ammunition, but in spite of the governor's recommendation that the petition be granted, it was laid unanswered on the table. (4) Thus Quaker opposition to war left the frontier unprotected.

The event that finally awakened the Quakers to the seriousness of the situation and forced them to turn over the control of the government to those who were not principled against the use of arms was the attempt by the French to appropriate the western part of the province. Pennsylvania was expanding gradually westward; Canada was throwing out feelers to the south On the Ohio their interests clashed. As early as 1719 Governor Keith became apprehensive of the growing power of the French. He urged upon the Lords of Trade the erection of a fort on Lake Erie to check their southern advance. (5) He feared, too, that the Six Nations would be enticed away from the English

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 305.
(2) *Ibid*, 1st ser., I, 209, 213.
(3) *Ibid*, I, 636.
(4) *Votes of Assembly*, IV. 24.
(5) *Olden Time*, I, 7.

interest. (1) After the migration of the Delawares and Shawanese to the west James Logan became very earnest in his portrayal to the proprietors of the French danger. In 1731 he prepared a memorial on the state as the British Plantations which was presented to Walpole, (2) but that minister was too busy with his own concerns to notice interests so distant. Even the assembly seems to have appreciated the danger. (3) The friendly Indians of the west advised the building of a fort and the taking of aggressive measures, but their advice was not followed. (4) The only English west of the Alleghanies were the traders, who were sometimes seized and carried away as prisoners to Canada without the least struggle or opposition. Upon the very eve of the conflict, when the rumor of war was the chief subject of conversation in Philadelphia, it was generally ridiculed by the people as false. (5)

The frontier of Pennsylvania was, therefore, practically defenceless when the struggle started in 1754. It was not, however, until after Braddock's defeat that the province began to reap the fruits of its listless policy. The remainder of the shattered army was withdrawn from the frontier. The Delawares, Shawanese, and many other Indian nations went over to the French who promised to return to them their hunting grounds. (6) General Shirley refused to furnish protection by the regular troops, saying that Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland were populous enough to protect themselves. (7) The Indians fell first upon the inhabitants west of the Susquehanna. The settlement at the Great Cove was attacked, the houses burned, six persons killed, and seventeen carried away. The settlers of the frontier counties were driven into the interior, (8) and

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 361. William Keith to the Governor of New York: "The prudent apprehensions which we ought to have of the extravagant Growth of the French Settlements upon the Back of these Colonies, and the Inconveniences which must follow upon the Success of their Jesuits in debauching many out of the five Nation Indians from the English to a French Interest, are very fully and clearly set forth in your letter to me of the 20th of December last ----."

(2) *Olden Time*, I, 8.

(3) *Votes of Assembly*, III, 169. Assembly to Governor; "We cannot be without just Apprehensions of the daily Encroachments of the French, as well upon our frontiers, and our Indians, as those of our neighboring Colonies. This danger now seems very imminent;----."

(4) *Pa. Arch*, 1st ser., II, 238.

(5) BALCH, *Letters and Papers*, 31.

(6) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 768.

(7) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 474.

(8) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 767.

interest. (1) After the migration of the Delawares and Shawanese to the west James Logan became very earnest in his portrayal to the proprietors of the French danger. In 1731 he prepared a memorial on the state as the British Plantations which was presented to Walpole, (2) but that minister was too busy with his own concerns to notice his interests so distant. Even the assembly seems to have appreciated the danger. (3) The friendly Indians of the west advised the building of a fort and the taking of aggressive measures, but their advice was not followed. (4) The only English west of the Alleghanies were the traders, who were sometimes seized and carried away as prisoners to Canada without the least struggle or opposition. Upon the very eve of the conflict, when the rumor of war was the chief subject of conversation in Philadelphia, it was generally ridiculed by the people as false. (5)

The frontier of Pennsylvania was, therefore, practically defenceless when the struggle started in 1754. It was not, however, until after Braddock's defeat that the province began to reap the fruits of its listless policy. The remainder of the shattered army was withdrawn from the frontier. The Delawares, Shawanese, and many other Indian nations went over to the French who promised to return to them their hunting grounds. (6) General Shirley refused to furnish protection by the regular troops, saying that Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland were populous enough to protect themselves. (7) The Indians fell first upon the inhabitants west of the Susquehanna. The settlement at the Great Cove was attacked, the houses burned, six persons killed, and seventeen carried away. The settlers of the frontier counties were driven into the interior, (8) and

(1) Pa. Arch., 4th ser., I, 351. William Keith to the Governor of New York: "The prudent apprehensions which we ought to have of the extravagant Growth of the French Settlements upon the Back of these Colonies, and the inconvenience which must follow upon the Success of their Jesuits in dissuading many out of the five Nation Indians from the English to a French interest, are very fully and clearly set forth in your letter to me of the 20th of December last ----"

(2) Olden Time, I, 2.

(3) Votes of Assembly, III, 180. Assembly to Governor: "We cannot be without just Apprehensions of the daily Encroachments of the French, as well upon our frontiers, and our Indians, as those of our neighboring Colonies. This danger now seems very imminent;----"

(4) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., II, 238.

(5) Baxter, Letters and Papers, 31.

(6) Col. Rec., VI, 788.

(7) Pa. Arch., 4th ser., II, 474.

(8) Col. Rec., VI, 787.

in November and December the incursions were extended east of the Susquehanna River. (1) In November, Ganadenhutten, a Maravian settlement on the west branch of the Delaware, was burned and six persons killed.

During 1756 and 1757 the frontiers were still in danger. Cumberland and York counties were almost depopulated. (2) Fort Granville was burned by the enemy; Fort Shirley was evacuated by the governor's order. (3) The people everywhere were dispirited and clamoring for protection. The Indians pressed forward scalping and murdering as far as Swatara and Paxtang. It appeared that Lancaster was to become once more a frontier town, (4) but now upon a receding instead of upon an advancing front. The year 1758, however, brought relief.

During the remainder of the war the frontier of Pennsylvania was practically secure, but hardly had peace been declared when the storm broke forth again. The Indians, not the French, were now the instigators. Under their leader, Pontiac, they strove to hurl back the tide of whites which was driving them gradually westward. Almost without warning they fell upon the frontier settlers. Forts Pitt and Ligonier alone held out. Houses and mills were burned. The inhabitants of the West huddled together within the protecting walls of Fort Pitt; those east of the Alleghanies fled toward Lancaster and Philadelphia. (5) The ripe crops in the deserted fields stood waiting in vain for the reaper. The despondent settlers had so little faith in the expedition which was sent for their relief that none of them would join it, (6) although their service, on account of their acquaintance with the country, would have been of great value. Bouquet, nevertheless, succeeded in relieving Forts Ligonier and Pitt and in once more bringing peace to the distressed frontier.

In 1774 hostilities again commenced on account of the murder of some Indians by Virginians. The usual panic ensued. (7) The back settlers fled from their homes. There

(1) *Ibid*, VI, 767.
(2) *Ibid*, VII, 120, 233.
(3) *Ibid*, VII, 278.
(4) BALCH. *Letters and Papers*. 79. Edwards Shippen to James Burd: "You will see by the inclosed papers, that the savages have been committing some murders near Swatara, and it appears to me that unless the Militia Act be passed, with the Governor's amendments, we of this borough (Lancaster) shall, in less than a month, become the frontiers."
(5) SMITH WILLIAM, *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in the year* 1764.
(6) *Ibid*, 12.
(7) *Col. Rec.*, X, 192.

was fear of a general war, but the conflict was happily confined within rather narrow limits.

During the Revolution the red allies of the English committed their customary depredations. The Ohio Country and the upper Susquehanna Valley were the greatest sufferers. The western inhabitants were again driven into the forts where they could get no food from their plantations. (1) Stockades with store houses were erected at Ligonier and Hannastown at public expense to protect the people and their goods. The massacres in Cherry and Wyoming valleys in the upper Susquehanna district are too well known to require more than a passing mention. After the Revolution isolated clashes still took place. (2) There were occasional alarms, (3) but the days of widespread destruction were over. The Ohio settlements like a wedge were forcing the danger farther west. It was only when the Indians were elated by their victories over Harmar and St. Clair that there were serious apprehensions that they would again fall upon Pennsylvania in numbers. "The late disaster of the army," wrote the inhabitants of Pittsburgh to the governor in 1791, "must greatly effect the safety of this place. There can be no doubt but the enemy will now come foreward, and with more spirit, and greater numbers than they ever did before, for success will give confidence, and secure allies.___The Indians at present hostile are well acquainted with the defenceless situation of the town. During the late war there was a garrison at this place, though, even then, there was not such a combination of the savage nations, nor so much to be dreaded from them. At present we have neither garrison, arms, nor ammunition to defend the place." (4)

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., V, 471. "The Distressed situation of our Cuntery is such, that we have no Prospect But Disolation and Distruction, the whole country on the north side of the Rode from the Alegany Mountains to the River is all kept close in forts;___In short there is very few Days there is not some murder committed on some part of our frontiers."

(2) *Col. Rec.*, XVI, 306.
Pa. Arch., 1st ser., XI, 377. James Marshall to Benjamin Franklin: "From numerous applications by the frontier Inhabitants, in the County of Washington, especially in that part of the county, where the families were killed last fall: I found it necessary early in the spring to order on duty, about twenty men, and to continue from time to time, nearly that number."

(3) *Pittsburg Gazette*, October 27, 1787. A report was received that some warriors having with them four scalps were encamped about sixty miles west of the town. A band of forty inhabitants marched out in quest of them, but their search was in vain.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 675.

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(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 676.

Throughout these wars defence became gradually more difficult on account of the increasing extent of the frontier. In 1756 the frontier east of the Susquehanna River followed the line of the Blue Hills; west of that river it might be roughly drawn as a semicircle with a one hundred mile radius from Harris' Ferry. During the Revolution it extended from Wyoming to Pittsburgh. It was impossible to defend this line efficiently. The Indian method of fighting complicated the question. Their attacks were not made in large bodies; but parties of from five to twenty would creep noiselessly upon their unsuspecting victims, kill, scalp, and be gone before an alarm could be spread. Forts were of little avail against such a method of warfare unless the whole population could be gathered within their walls. The vast uncharted wilderness in which a campaign against the Indians must be carried on made it a thing of dread to the soldiers. "There is no refreshment for the healthy nor relief for the sick. A vast inhospitable desert, unsafe and treacherous, surrounds them, where victories are not decisive, but defeats are ruinous; and simple death is the least misfortune which can happen to them." (1)

The settlers on account of the lack of arms were often unable to defend themselves. During the earlier years this was due primarily to the poverty of the immigrants; all their surplus capital was expended in clearing and improving their lands. (2) But in later years it was often a case of negligence or carelessness. When Indian hostilities threatened in 1791, not more than one sixth of the western militia had guns. The considerable period of peace which preceded this outbreak had given them confidence that they would never be called upon to defend themselves again; and as game was becoming scarce, arms were of no great use to them. Most of these, therefore, had been sold to emigrants who were going to Ohio, Kentucky, or some other section of the new frontier. (3)

The Assembly and Military Affairs.

Such was the situation which confronted the provincial government of Pennsylvania---a frontier at first peaceful but later hostile, a problem of defence becoming more difficult as the settlements became more extensive. The government itself was divided on the issue. The deputy governors stood always for defence; the assembly before 1756 was invariably anti-military. The military powers of the governor, according to the charter, were sufficiently great;

(1) SMITH, *Bouquet Expedition*, 19.
(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 883.
(3) *Ibid*, 2nd ser., IV, 652, 786.

but could be of no avail without the enactment by the legislature of laws to compel service and an appropriation of money for the purpose. Governor George Thomas in an address to the assembly in 1743 concerning putting the provinces in a state of defence in case of a rupture with France argued in part as follows: "All that it is now possible for me to do is to issue a Proclamation requiring the Inhabitants to prepare themselves in the best manner they can to repel any attack that may be made upon Us, And to commission the best qualified to Levy, Muster, and Train them. Upon you it lies to prepare a Bill for obliging then to appear well Armed and Accountred at convenient Stated Times for their Instruction in Military Discipline, and whenever else it shall be necessary for the Defence of the Province; And as the Disposition of the Public Money is in You, it should be your Care likewise to provide a Stock of Arms and Ammunition, as well as to make some Provision for the security of our back Inhabitants against Inroads from the French Indians, And of this City; upon which the Trade of the whole Province chiefly depends, against any Attempt that may be upon it from the Sea." (1) The political history of military affairs before the French and Indian War is, therefore, that of a struggle between the governor and the assembly, the former favoring military defence and the latter opposing it.

This struggle began before the close of the seventeenth century on account of the wars between France and England spreading to their colonies. There was fear that the Five Nations would go over to the French interest; and Benjamin Fletcher, who for a short time was governor of Pennsylvania as well as of New York, recognizing the hopelessness of enticing the Quaker assembly into warlike measures, appealed to them for aid in the following message: "Gentl., I consider your principles that you will not Carie arms nor Levie money to make warr, though for your own defence, Yet I hope that you will not refuse to feed the Hungrie and Cloath the Naked. My meaning is to supply those Indian nations with such necessaries as may influence them to a Continuance of their friendship to these provinces. And now, Gentl., if you will consider, wherein I may be useful to you, according to the Tenor of my Commission, in redressing your grievances, (if anie you have,) you shall find me readie to act by the rules of Loyaltie, with a true regard to Libertie & propertie." (2) The assembly,

(1) *Ibid*, 4th ser., I, 881.
(2) *Ibid*, 171.

however, spent more time in reporting their grievances than in considering means of complying with his request. He, therefore, called them before his council and insisted that they should give a positive answer. (1) They reported finally, June 7, 1694, a bill to raise a fund, part of which should be expended in purchasing presents for the Indians, but the disposal of it remained in their own hands. (2) As this was considered unsatisfactory, the governor again called the assembly before him and insisted upon more definite action. They contended that their former bill met all requirements and were dissolved. (3) Again in 1795 a demand came from the queen through Fletcher to raise a quota of men. The council considered that they had no power to act in a matter so important. A meeting of the assembly was therefore called. (4) They, however, refused to provide for the raising of the men unless they were granted a charter of liberties, and were thereupon dissolved. (5) In the early years of the next century came further appeals for men, but the assembly consistently declined to furnish them. (6)

As the French peril began to cast its shadow over the province, the contest became more acute. Governor Thomas hurled volumes of argument against the assembly's defensive principles. "I must lament," he said, "the unhappy Circumstances of a Country, populous indeed, extensive in its Trade, bless'd with many natural advantages, and capable of defending itself, but from a religious Principle of its Representatives against bearing Arms, subject to become the Prey of the first Invader, and more particularly of its powerful Neighbors, who are known to be well armed, regular in Discipline, inured to Fatigue, and from thence capable of making long Marches, in Alliance with many

(1) *Col. Rec.*, I, 460, 462.

(2) *Ibid*, 468. "His Excellie ordered the reading of a bill giving one pennie in the pound.---The Council are of opinion that the sd bill Cannot pass, and that it is no answer to the Queen's Letter, nor does anie thing towards the support of the government."

(3) *Ibid*, 460, 472.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 75.

(5) *Ibid*, 82. Markham to Assembly: "Gentl., As oft as I press you to ansr the Late Quenn's Letter for the Supplie of New York, your ansr to me is that your privileges ought to be confirmed to you. I never did, nor ever shall endeavor to diminish them. But Gentl., Since there's no Likehood of obtaining from you anie ansr to the Late Quenn's Letter, nor to his Excellie Govr. Fletcher's Demands thereupon, Unless Ile enter upon and grant you a Charter of privileges, I dissolve you, and you are hereby dissolved."

(6) *N. Y. Col Docs.*, V, 71, 78.
Votes of Assembly, II, 34, 36.

Nations of Indians, and of a boundless ambition." (1) He accused them of inconsistency in making a distinction between the execution of a criminal and the killing of a soldier in the defence of a state. "If a Burglar acts contrary to the Laws of Christianity and of the land in breaking open your Houses, and by those Laws you are justified in putting him to Death; and if a soldier acts contrary to the Laws of Christianity (as he does according to your own principles) and the Laws of Nations, in plundering your Houses and murdering your Families, it will be difficult to show why you may not as justly put the latter to Death as the former." (2) He considered, too, that assemblymen should be the watchmen of the whole people, not of a particular religious sect. (3)

The assembly in justification of their conduct urged that they were exempt from military service by a charter of privileges granted to them by the first proprietor and by their own laws; that the colony had existed and prospered without forts or militia; that being a peaceful people, there was no danger of their neighbors molesting them; and that in case of emergency the proprietor was obliged to defend his province. It was found, however, upon examination that they were nowhere exempted by law from military service; and that the proprietor, although his personal interests might be greater, was no more obliged to defend the province at his own expense than the governor of any other colony. (4) The argument that there was no danger from their neighbors reflects once more their misunderstanding of the real situation.

A circular signed by Conrad Weiser was published by order of the proprietors in order to draw the Germans over to their viewpoint. (5) It refuted the idea, instilled by the Quakers, that the proprietors were endeavoring to enslave the inhabitants of their province, and called upon them out of gratitude for the privileges they were enjoying to elect assemblymen who would show their loyalty to the government by a vote of supplies. This was answered by an anonymous writer who disparaged Weiser's statements and accused him of either being deceived or attempting to

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 693.
(2) *Ibid*, 699.
(3) *Ibid*, 712. "But as every account from Europe gives us more and more reason to apprehend a general War, you must excuse me if I still consider you as the Representatives and the Watchmen of the whole People of the Province, and not of a particular religious Society,----."
(4) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 273.
(5) EGLE, *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser., I, 33.

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(2) *Ibid.*, 609.
(3) *Ibid.*, 712. "But as every account from Europe gives us more and more reason to apprehend a general War, you must excuse me if I still consider you as the Representatives and the Watchmen of the whole People of the Province, and not of a particular religious Society....."
(4) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 273.
(5) *Eccl. Notes and Queries*, 4th ser., I, 33.

deceive his countrymen. Weiser had recently been made justice of the peace. He was now, says, this author, seeking to make his position secure by ingratiating himself with the governor. The chief positive argument was that the encroachments of the proprietors tended to bring upon them the same slavery which they had left their own country to escape. (1) But in spite of all representations the Germans, as well as most of the other citizens, gave their support to the policy of the Quaker representatives by re-electing them to the assembly until the outbreak of war in 1755 brought with it the necessity of more strenuous measures.

When the requisitions upon them to raise men or money became too urgent to be refused, the assembly managed generally to comply with the spirit of the demand without disturbing their consciences. As long as they were required to perform no military service and to grant no money for definite military ends they were satisfied. Since they did not condemn the use of arms in others, they raised no objections to their grants being turned to military ends. Their plan was to throw the responsibility from their own shoulders and let it fall where it would. They granted at various times thousands of pounds "for the king's use" or "for the queen's use" without stating definitely how it should be expended. (2) This, they said, did not concern them. At other times they stated particularly not only how the money should be raised but also how it should be used. (3) In 1745, for example, a grant of four thousand pounds was made for "bread, beef, pork, flower, wheat, or other grain," although it was well known that provisions were plentiful. The words "other grain" were interpreted to mean powder. The assembly made no objection and the money was so expended. (4)

There was sometimes difficulty in raising the money after it had been granted by the assembly. As proof of this we have a message of Governor Charles Gookin to the assembly. "But I must first recommend to you," he wrote, "as I did to the last assembly, that the 2000 Granted for the Queen's use, may be made ready paymt. when Demanded:___for notwithstanding the Powers Given for the Raising that money, 'tis not yet paid in." (5)

The outbreak of the French and Indian War brought to

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., II, 675-679.

(2) *Votes of Assembly*, II, 98.

(3) *Col. Rec.*, I, 361; IV, 366; VI, 133.

(4) FRANKLIN, *Autobiography*, 154.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 320.

a crisis the struggle between the governor and the assembly. The governor's chief ally was necessity; the assembly's most serviceable weapon was the power of the purse, The latter, to use the words of a contemporary writer, "seem quite intoxicated; are factious, contentious and disregard the Proprietors and their Governors. Nay, they seem even to claim a kind of Independency of their Mother-Country, despising the Orders of the Crown, and refusing to contribute their quota, either to the general Defence of America, or that of their own particular province." (1) Early in the year 1754 Governor Hamilton, having received orders from the king to arm the province, solicited a grant from the assembly to enable him to obey; but after considering the matter for several weeks, they adjourned on the ninth of March without coming to any decision." (2)

After the Virginians had been driven from the Ohio, the governor again called the assembly, pointed out the extreme dangers of the situation, and implored them to enable him to put the province in a condition for defence, promising even to disregard the proprietary instructions against an issue of paper money, providing they would make a generous grant and sink the issue within five years as had been prescribed by Parliament in the case of New England." (3) They then passed a bill granting ten thousand pounds redeemable in twelve years. As he considered five the legal limit, the governor vetoed it. Upon the news of Washington's defeat he again convened the assembly and entreated them to find ways and means consistent with his instructions to repel the enemy. They voted fifteen thousand pounds to be raised as in the former bill. Upon the governor's refusal to sign it they adjourned without voting him any salary. (4)

Governor Hamilton gave up in disgust and was succeeded by Robert Hunter Morris. He informed the assembly that he was subject to the same instructions as his predecessor, but they sent up to him a bill to raise twenty thousand pounds by an issue of paper money to extend for the same length of time. (5) The grants seemed to become more generous as the governor's veto became more sure.

In August a petition from a great number of frontier

(1) SMITH, *Brief State*, 10.
(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 261.
(3) SMITH, *Brief State*, 18.
(4) *Ibid*, 20.
(5) *Ibid*, 22.

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In August a petition from a great number of frontier

(1) Smith, Prov. State, 10.
(2) Pa. Arch., 4th ser., II, 221
(3) Smith, Prov. State, 18.
(4) Ibid, 20.
(5) Ibid, 22.

inhabitants was presented to the assembly, praying that they might be furnished with arms and ammunition. It was not granted. The friendly Indians sent a request to the governor begging that he should direct the building of a stockade in which they might defend themselves from the incursions of the enemy; but the assembly refused to grant any money for the purpose, and advised the Indians that if they were afraid, they might move down into the settled part of the province. (1)

The same procrastinating policy was pursued during the early months of 1755. In January the assembly proposed to adjourn until May without making any provisions for the defence of the province or granting the supplies which had been requested by the governor. The governor objected to the adjournment and insisted that they should continue in session until they had provided some effective plan for defence, (2) but it was nevertheless made. But in the spring of this year a new influence was brought to bear upon them. The governor convened the assembly on March 17 and laid before them a letter from General Braddock. The following account of its reception was written by Edward Shippen to his father two days later: "The Governor has laid before the Assembly a most alarming letter from General Braddock, which charges them in strong terms with faction and disaffection, and assures them, that, as the assigning quarters for the army is his province, he shall take due care to burden those colonies the most, that show the least loyalty to his Majesty; and lets them know that he is determined to obtain, by unpleasant methods, what it is their duty to contribute with the utmost cheerfulness. The Assembly know not how to stomach this military address, but 'tis thought it will frighten them into some reasonable measures." (3) Provision was immediately made, as he demanded, for the establishment of a post to Winchester and the opening of a road westward from Carlisle to the Youghiogheny. It was also voted to raise Pennsylvania's portion of the general fund. No troops, however, were raised by the province.

During the alarm after the defeat of General Braddock the Assembly talked of contributing largely but delayed as long as possible. A bill was finally passed to raise fifty thousand pounds but a clause was attached to tax the unprofitable proprietary lands, which made it necessary for

(1) SMITH, *Brief State*, 23.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 335.

(3) BALCH, *Letters and Papers*, 35.

the governor to veto it. (1) On the question of raising a militia they would take no action. (2) A later bill was sent up granting sixty thousand pounds to the king's use, and including all the amendments formerly made by the governor, except that the taxation of the proprietary estates was to be submitted to royal determination. (3) This, too, was vetoed by the governor as he considered that he had no power to pass any bill which did not definitely exclude such taxation. At this point certain gentlemen of Philadelphia, evidently despairing of a settlement, offered to subscribe five thousand pounds in lieu of the proprietary share of the tax in question, upon the presumption that the proprietors would honorably reimburse them. (4) There was no need, however, to take the risk. The proprietors offered five thousand pounds to be used in the defence of the province. (5) In consideration of this gift the proprietary estates were exempted in a new bill, which became a law, granting fifty-five thousand pounds for the king's use. (6)

According to this law the money raised was to be placed in the hands of a committee of the Assembly to be used by them "for supplying Friendly Indians, holding Treaties, relieving distressed settlers who have been driven from their Lands, and other purposes for the King's use." Nothing was said about military service, although the words *other purposes* could be given such an interpretation. Some, considering the principles of the committee, had little anticipation that they would be given such a meaning; (7) but Benjamin Franklin, who was one of the members and who probably knew better than any other the real inclination of his colleagues, was more hopeful. Eight days after the passage of the law he wrote to William Parsons, saying that the money was to be used chiefly for the defence of the province, and stating that orders had already been issued to raise three hundred rangers and erect block houses along the frontier. (8)

The Quaker's opposition to the use of arms and the taxation of the proprietary estates were, however, not the only points of contention between the governor and the Assem-

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 599.
(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 493.
(3) *True and Impartial State*, 139.
(4) FRANKLIN, *Review*, 254.
(5) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 582.
(6) *Statutes at Large*, V, 201-212.
(7) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 274.
(8) FRANKLIN, *Works*, II, 427.

bly. The latter feared that the proprietors were attempting to introduce a system of despotism and slavery, and to augment their own powers at the expense of the peoples liberties. (1) A general militia law would, they thought, materially strengthen this power by creating a host of officers dependent upon the proprietors alone. (2) It could have in Pennsylvania only the same centralizing effect which such laws had shown in Europe. The assemblymen conscientiously felt that if they sumbitted to the amendments of the governor, they would be guilty of a breach of trust in surrendering up the rights of the people whom they had been chosen to represent.

The governor on the other hand considered that the assemblymen were striving to promote their schemes of independence by grasping at the disposition of all public money. (3) He was charged by the partisans of the Assembly with inciting the people to come down to the city in multitudes to coerce them into compliance with his plans. (4) Whether the governor was guilty of instigation or not, popular influence was brought to bear upon the Assembly. In November, 1755, a remonstrance was presented to them by the mayor, aldermen, and common council of Philadelphia calling their attention to the importance and urgency of the problem which they were facing, and insisting that all disputes should be laid aside until the defence of the province had been provided for. "You were," ran the remonstrance in part, "lately called together upon more urgent Business than ever came before an Assembly of this province, and while you have been sitting, scarce a day has passed wherein you have not heard of the inhuman Slaughter of our Fellow Subjects, & been loudly called upon for that protection, which by the most sacred Ties you owe to the People. On such an Emergency we imagined you had an easy and expeditious mode of procedure before you,

(1) *True and Impartial State*, 37.

(2) *Ibid*, 56. A general Militia Law---would naturally produce this long train of ruinous Effects; an infinite Number of new Relations, Dependences, &c. would be created, all under the Control, and subject to the Dominion of our Proprietaries, and their Governors; on them would the Officers of the Militia alone be dependent, being commissioned by them, and liable to be turned out at their pleasure; the common Men would be influenced by their Officers, and directed by them in their Choice of Representatives; so that, not only the Quakers, but every man who had the Virtue and Spirit to oppose such arbitrary and unjust Proceedings, would be utterly excluded from that important Trust."

(3) *Ibid*, 114.

(4) *Ibid*, 142.

namely, to postpone all Disputes to a more seasonable time, to grant the necessary Supplies on such Terms as those on which the rest of his Majesty's Colonies have granted large sums for the like purposes; and lastly to pass a reasonable Law in order to collect and regulate the Force of the Province for repelling the cruel Invasion. Nevertheless, while you have been deliberating, much innocent Blood has been spilt, a great deal of our country laid waste, the miserable Inhabitants scatter'd abroad before the savage Spoiler." (1)

There were for a time constant reports that mobs of frontier inhabitants were preparing to come to Philadelphia to force the government to provide efficient means for defence. (2) The mobs, however, failed to come in any great numbers, and the few who did come proved harmless. (3) The governor, evidently desiring to bring the Assembly into closer touch with actual frontier conditions or probably under the influence of mob domination, advised with his council in 1756 whether he should call them to meet at Lancaster. (4) The council advised that the meeting should be called for Philadelphia. The writ was, therefore, issued to meet in this city.

The argument had been occasionly advanced that those who had scruples against the use of arms should in times of public danger decline to act as assemblymen. (5) This was consistent with the Quaker's policy of shifting the burden of defence from his own shoulders and letting it fall where it would. Acting therefore, in accordance with the request of the ministry the Quakers in 1756 did not offer themselves as candidates, and the four who were nevertheless elected asked to be relieved from the responsibility of

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 734.

(2) *Ibid*, VI, 729. Minutes of Council. "A Letter from Colonel William Moore, dated yesterday, to the Governor advising him of 2000 Inhabitants preparing to come to Philadelphia from Chester County, to compel the Governor and Assembly to agree to pass Laws to defend the Country and oppose the Enemy, was read."

See also a letter from the assembly to the governor and contain- the same facts in vol. VII, page 91.

(3) *True and Impartial State*, 142.

(4) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 96.

(5) *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, VI, 410. James Logan to the Yearly Meeting: "It is therefore proposed to the serious and most weighty Consideration of this Meeting, Whether it may not, at this Time, be advisable, that all such who for Conscience sake cannot join in any Law for Self-Defence, should not only decline standing Candidates at the ensuing Election for Representatives themselves, but also advise all others who are equally scrupulous, to do the same.

service. (1) Their request was granted, their seats declared vacant, and they themselves disabled from sitting or serving in the Assembly for the ensuing year.

Even before the resignation of the Quakers a makeshift militia bill had been passed. During the Indian incursion of the summer and autumn of 1755 petitions came from all parts of the province, interior as well as frontier, stating that the people would concur in taking measures for the defence of the province. (2) The Assembly's bill, which will be treated more fully in the section devoted to the militia, seemed to be calculated rather to exempt persons from military service than to encourage them in it. The whole was purely voluntary. There was no method of compelling those principled against fighting to find substitutes. (3) The governor, contrary to expectation, signed the bill in order to show that he was willing to do anything that had the slightest chance to contribute to the defence of the province, (4) and also to show by experience that such laws would do more harm than good. (5)

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(1) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 626. October 16, 1756: "Understanding that the Ministry have requested the Quakers, who from the first Settlement of this Colony have been the majority of the Assemblies of this Province, to suffer their Seats, during the difficult Situation of the Affairs of the Colonies, to be filled by Members of other Demoninations, in such Manner as to prepare, without any Scruples, all such Laws as may be necessary to be enacted for the Defence of the Province in whatever Manner they may judge best suited to the Circumstances of it; and notwithstanding we think this has been pretty fully complied with at the last Election, yet, at the Request of our Friends, being willing to take off all possible Obligation, we who have (without any Solicitation on our Part) been returned as Representatives in this Assembly, request we may be excused, and suffered to withdraw ourselves, and vacate our Seats in such Manner as may be attended with the least Trouble, and most satisfactory to this honorable House.

Mahlon Kirkbride, Peter Dicks,
William Hoge, Nathaniel Pennock,"

(2) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 680.

(3) *Ibid*, VII, 274.

(4) *Ibid*, VI, 741.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 531. Governor Morris to Governor Dinwiddie: "If with this Grant they had made a good Militia Act, I might have done something toward putting the Country into a posture of Defence; but as they offered me a senseless, partial and impracticable Bill, rather than have any more disputes with them, and as it was only to continue in Force till next October, I passed it, that Experience may convince them such Bills will do infinitely more harm than good."

This law having proved satisfactorily its inefficiency, the governor in May, 1756, recommended to the Assembly to form a bill that could be carried into immediate execution and that would enable him to throw the strength of the province into those sections where the danger was most imminent. (1) The law of 1755 was disallowed by the king in council, (2) the chief objection to it being the election of officers by a vote of the soldiers. Pennsylvania was thus left without even the shadow of a legal military establishment. During the next eighteen months the governor appealed constantly for an efficient military bill, (3) but of all those returned to him not one was free from the objections which had caused the disallowance of the former law. A good example of these bills is that which passed the House, March 20, 1757. (4) It provided that the constables should make out a list of the inhabitants of each township, indicating the religion of each. Those religiously opposed to bearing arms were not to be forced; the others were to be formed into companies of sixty each. Each company was then to choose by ballot its own captain, lieutenant, and ensign.

The governor objected to these bills because they did not subject the militia to the proper discipline; because trials by courts martial were not provided; and because the appointment of officers was taken out of the hands of the government. (5) The Assembly on the other hand considered that their bills were reasonable; that subjecting the people to a court martial would be inconsistent with their liberties; and that the appointment of officers was not taken out of the hands of the government, as the governor, according to the later bills, was empowered to appoint one from several whose names had been recommended by the soldiers. (6) They could see in such a law as the governor desired only an attempt to undermine their liberties. (7)

The tension was finally somewhat relieved by the ap-

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 121.
(2) *Statutes at Large*, V, 201.
(3) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 444, 720, 758.
(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 120-136.
(5) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 583, 720.
(6) *Ibid*, 733.
(7) *Ibid*, 618. Resolution of Assembly: "That it appears to Us, that the Governor is determined to withhold that Protection from the People of this Province, which a proper Militia might afford them, Unless we will present him such a Bill as will enable certain designing men to subvert the Constitution, and deprive the Inhabitants of every Liberty they think worth enjoying."

pointment of Pitt to the English premiership. His liberal and energetic policy soothed the fears of the Pennsylvanians, and to a great extent obviated the necessity of a military law. To encourage enlistment the Assembly now voted a bounty of five pounds to each able bodied soldier and twenty shillings to the enlisting officer; (1) and recommended to the governor to do every thing in his power to have the forces ready at the time designated by the ministry. Pennsylvania was not provided with a militia law, but hence forth she furnished to the general army with little opposition her quota of men and supplies. (2)

After the French and Indian War the Assembly did not show themselves so strongly opposed to providing for military defence, although they cannot always be complimented for their prompt and efficient action. During Pontiac's War and Dunmore's War they provided for the defence of the

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(1) *Col. Rec.*, VIII, 53. The Assembly to the Governor: "It is also the Opinion of this House that Five Pounds be given as a Bounty to every able Bodied Man that shall voluntarily enter into the Service of the Province, and Twenty Shillings to the Officer for every Man he shall enlist."

(2) During the period of contention between the governor and the assembly a veritable pamphlet war was carried on between the champions of the opposing viewpoints. William Smith in his *Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania*, 1755, *and his Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania* upheld the policy of the governor and proprietors, holding the Quakers and their assembly responsible for the misfortunes which had fallen upon the province; while Cross's *Answer to an inviduous pamphlet, intitled "A brief state of the province of Pennsylvania"* and the anonymous *True and Impartial state of the province of Pennsylvania* take the side of the assembly. The first of these latter two is an inadequate, unreasonable, vindictive and altogether amusing attack upon Smith's position. It is rather a raillery than an argument, leaving the points made by Smith unanswered. The *True and impartial state of the province of Pennsylvania* is on the other hand more reasonable and presents arguments of some weight in favor of the assembly's position. Benjamin Franklin's *An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania* is another excellent statement of the assembly's viewpoint. Charles Thompson's *Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest* is a careful study of Indian affairs from 1722 to 1758, in which the author shows how the whites imposed continually upon the Indians, expecially in matter of land and trade.

frontier either by arming the settlers themselves (1) or by raising bands of rangers. (2) During the Revolutionary War the control of frontier defence was voluntarily given over to the president and council. (3) Action was often crippled by the lack of funds, but for this the Assembly can no longer be held responsible. After the capture of the goverment by the revolutionists, they stood necessarily for military defence.

The Indian and Frontier Defence.

Having thus sketched in outline the necessity for defence, the conflicting views of the assembly and the proprietors, and their prolonged quarrel over military grants and laws, I shall now take up in the following sections what is an even more pleasant task, a description of the methods of defence which were put into actual operation.

As has been stated formerly, the Indians during the early years of the province lived on terms of friendship with their English neighbors. When, therefore, the traders began to bring in rumors of danger and the Indians to grow gradually more restless on account of the encroachments of the whites, the great problem was that of maintaining their friendship. If the Indians who lived along the frontier could only be retained as friends, the necessity for defence would, if it did not entirely disappear, at least be greatly minimized.

The methods employed to maintain and, after many tribes had been alienated, to regain their friendship have been treated quite fully in the chapter on Indian Policy. It it, therefore, only necessary to review here some of the most important points. Many thousand pounds were ex-

(1) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 530. Sir Jeffrey Amherst to the Earl of Egremont: "The Province of Pennsylvania has, on this Occasion Empowered the Governor to raise Seven Hundred Men, but it is only with a view of getting in their Harvest, which entirely frustrates the Public good that might be expected from such a number actually raised; whereas, these in effect are only farmers and reapers, which the Assembly mean by their vote to arm to defend their own fields."

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, IV, 548. Resolution of Assembly: They authorize the payment of a sum not exceeding two thousand pounds for paying "a number of Rangers lately raised by the Magistrates of Westmoreland County, for the removing the Panic into which the Inhabitants of the sd County have been thrown by the late Indian Disturbances."

(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser. III, 800; 832.
Col. Rec., XIII, 248.

pended for Indian presents as a voluntary return for services which they had rendered or merely to retain their good will. Agents whose personal influence was strong were sent to treat with them. (1) They were flattered into making treaties of friendship. The name of their "good brother Onas" (2) was conjured for this purpose. Goods were furnished them cheaper than they could be procurred from the French. Lands, the purchase of which they considered fraudulent were returned.

If a buffer state of Friendly Indians could be maintained on the frontier, the danger of attacks by the French or hostile Indians would be greatly lessened. But the policy of erecting such a state was not consistently followed. The rapid westward expansion of population and the consequent purchases of land would have prevented its operation except for brief periods of time. In his agreement with the Susquehanna Indians in 1701 Penn insisted that they should allow no tribes of strange Indians to settle upon the western bank of the Susquehanna or along the Potomac and that they should bring no other Indians into any part of the province without his express consent. (3) But there seems to be no indication that such a policy was pursued from that date until the outbreak of the French and Indian War. The Indians were, on the contrary, gradually receding before advancing settlements.

In 1757, however, the policy was again acted upon. The friendly Indians requested lands about Wyoming upon which they might settle and live permanently. The assembly, recognizing the advantage of such a settlement, recommended that the request be granted and that a comfortable place of security be erected for their reception. (4)

(1) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 137. Governor Hamilton to Assembly; "The Indians of those Parts are not of the most prudent Behavior, and therefore it seems necessary there should be always among them some discreet Person, who by his Influence may be able to regulate their Conduct, and keep them firmly attached to the British Interest;___."

(2) The Indian word for "pen" by which William Penn was commonly known among them.

(3) *Col. Rec,,* II, 16.

(4) *Col. Rec.,* VII, 730. Assembly to Governor: "The securing an Indian Barrier to the Frontiers of this Province is of so much importance to the Safety and Welfare of the People, that we are of Opinion, a Compliance with this Request should not be postponed a Moment longer than is necessary; therefore, we earnestly entreat your Honor, with all Expedition, to proceed to build such a place of Security as shall be agreeable to the Indians; and as many houses as they shall stand in need of at the Place nominated by Teedyuscung, for their comfortable Living and Safety."

The governor, acting in accordance with the assembly's recommendation and the promise made to the Indians at Easton, appointed commissioners for the immediate construction of a stockade and such houses as were necessary for their accommodation. (1)

The Indian was not extensively used in actual warfare. As his acquaintance with the country and his skill in woodcraft made him an excellent scout, he was at times employed in this capacity. (2) The Quakers were, however, naturally opposed to his use, and when wars had finally become serious, most of the Indians were allies of the French. The problem of the English was one of regaining or retaining their friendship (3) rather than of using them against their enemies.

Here duty demands that I deal with a subject which, out of respect for our ancestors, I should prefer to pass in silence. The Indian at times paid dearly for his neutrality. The frontiersmen, frantic with the losses which they had suffered and unable to satisfy their vengeance upon an elusive foe, fell upon and destroyed the neutral Christian tribes which were situated within their lines. The first massacre occured at Paxton (or Paxtang as it was then spelled) during Pontiac's War and the second at Gnadenhutten, Ohio, in 1782. The latter took place in Ohio, but the prepetrators were chiefly Pennsylvanians. An account of these massacres or an account of the Indian's suffering does not lie within the scope of our present task. But we are somewhat concerned with the attitude of the frontiersman to the subject and to the policy of permitting bodies of neutral Indians to dwell behind the frontier in time of war. The frontiersman looked upon the situation quite differently from the inhabitants of the interior. (4) He could not understand the attitude of a government that would grant neither men nor funds for the protection of its own citizens, yet fostered and protected a band of dangerous Indians. (5) All Indians, whether Christian or

(1) BALCH, *Letters and Papers*, 99.
(2) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 46. Minutes of Council, February 24, 1756; "Two of the Six Nation Indians were sent at the Instance of the Governor up the River Sasquehannah to gain Intelligence of the Motions and Number of the Enemy Indians."
(3) *Ibid*, 435.
(4) DARLINGTON, *Fort Pitt*, 239.
(5) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 143. Declaration of frontier inhabitants, 1764: "Both money and protection is granted to Indians who were enemies of Bouquet, while at the same time 100s of distressed families were compelled to flee from their homes to starve neglected."

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pagan, were, according to their conception, equally treacherous; and to allow bands of them to remain in times of war was simply nursing an adder in the bosom of the province. (1) The massacres were carried out in cold blood after days of careful consideration.

To inspire the friendly Indians to activity rewards were sometimes offered for enemy prisoners and scalps. This plan was first adopted on the recommendation of the Indian commissioners (2) in 1756 at the same time that war was declared against the Delawares. The rewards were graduated as follows: (3) for male prisoners above ten years of age, $150; for females and males under ten, $130; for scalps of males over ten, $130; for scalps of Indian women, $50; for the recapture of English prisoners, $150. Soldiers in the pay of the province could lay claim to one half of the above amounts. The same plan was followed during Pontiac's War. (4) The system was attended by some favorable results, but appealed for the most part to the baser motives. The effect upon the Indians was particularly bad, leading to the murder and scalping of innocent Indians in order to get the reward. (5)

Militia.

Before 1755 the pressure of danger was never sufficiently great to overcome the religious prejudices of the Quakers against the establishment of a militia. But the governors at times were able, acting under their charter authority, to raise a body of men. (6) The majority of the Quakers, as long as service was purely voluntary, remained passive. There was some opposition on the part of the extremists but never enough to interfere seriously with the governor's plans.

(1) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 141. Petition of Inhabitants of Frontiers, February 13, 1764: "We humbly conceive that it is contrary to the maxims of good Policy, and extremely dangerous to our Frontiers, to suffer any Indians, of what tribe so ever, to live within the Inhabited parts of this Province, while we are engaged in an Indian war, as Experience has taught us that they are all perfidious, & their Claim to Freedom & Independency puts it in their power to act as Spies, to entertain and to give intelligence to our Enemies, and to furnish them with Provisions and Warlike Stores."

(2) *Ibid*, VII, 74.

(3) *Ibid*, 88.
Pa. Arch., 1st ser., II, 607, 618, 625.

(4) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 188.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 199.

(6) *Col. Rec.*, IV, 696; V, 251.

These companies were raised by voluntary associations of citizens. In fact when a militia law was finally passed in 1755, it was professedly nothing more than the legalization of the method which had formerly been followed without the sanction of law. Franklin's Association of 1747 was probably the most successful attempt to raise troops in this manner. (1) By the spring of 1748 almost twenty thousand men had joined the Association and become somewhat adept in the use of arms. (2) The governor, therefore, at the beginning of the French and Indian War naturally followed the same plan. He informed the several counties that if they would enter into associations, form themselves into companies, and recommend proper persons for officers, he would grant them commissions and give them all the encouragement in his power. (3) Many followed his suggestion and thus the foundation for a military establishment was laid.

The act of November 25, 1755, as has just been stated, merely put the stamp of legal approval upon the method of raising troops which was already in common use. The preamble shows its spirit. The Quakers state themselves principled against the use of arms but not opposed to their use by others as the world was then circumstanced. To compel them to enlist would be a breach of privilege, for them to compel others would be inconsistent. But owing to the great number of petitions showing a popular desire for defensive organization they pass an act providing for the better organization of those who are willing and desirous to be united for military purposes. (4)

This act made it lawful for freemen to form themselves into companies "as hitherto they have used in time of war without law;" to choose their own captain, lieutenant, and ensign, and present their names to the governor or to the commander in chief for his approval. The officers of the various companies were empowered to choose and present in the same way the name of a colonel. The officers should

(1) FRANKLIN, *Autobiography*, 141-149.

(2) BALCH, *Letters and Papers*, 15. John Swift to John White, April 12, 1748: "The association for the militia goes on very well here, there are upwards of 8000 men in this city (Philadelphia) that bear arms, and are already become pretty expert in their exercise; and in the province there are near 20,000 associators, and more daily coming in. The platform for a battery is begun by the swamp below the Swedes' church, and we have cannons coming to us from New York. With these we shall be able to make some resistance in case of an attack."

(3) *Col. Rec.*, V. 680.

(4) *Statutes at Large*, V, 197.

then draw up articles of war for the government of the forces. (1) These articles must be read before the companies, and each man, after at least three days consideration, must sign them in the presence of a justice of the peace. No regiment or company could be compelled to go more than three days march beyond the inhabited parts of the province or be detained longer than three weeks in any garrison without a previous engagement signed by each man for that particular service.

The law was wholly inadequate to provide for the defence of the province. It provided that freemen might form themselves into companies and choose their own officers. But neither time nor place was designated; no person was empowered to call them together; there was no method to compel those not principled against the use of arms to enlist or to force others to find a substitute. (2) Beyond the moral obligation which it placed upon the assmebly to provide funds for the payment of the troops there was little gained. A number of companies were formed under its sanction, but the process of mobilization was necessarily so slow and the restrictions upon the action of the governor so great that little could be accomplished. (3)

In 1756 there were three batallions engaged in the defence of the frontier. Each consisted of seven companies of infantry and one of cavalry. (4) In 1757 thirteen thou-

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 547. Soldiers' Agreement: "We, the Subscribers do hereby engage ourselves to serve as Soldiers in his Majesty's Service, under the command of Captain John Vanetta, for the space of one Month, and whoever of us shall get drunk, desert, or prove cowardly in Time of Action, or disobedient to our Officers, shall forfeit his Pay. This Agreement we make in Consideration of being allowed at the rate of Six Dollars per Month, Wages, one Dollar for the use of a Gun and Blanket, to each Man who shall furnish himself with them, and the Provisions and Rum mentioned in a Paper hereunto annexed."

(2) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 274.

(3) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 557.
Col. Rec., VII, 121. Governor to Assembly, May 11, 1756: "The Law for the Better Ordering and Regulating such as are willing and desirous to be united for military purposes, within this Province, has contributed very little toward the Defence of the Frontiers, and as I observed to you when I Passed it, is so Defective in itself, and requires so much Time to carry it into Execution, that Nothing Good is to be expected from it, though many Companies have formed themselves under that Law, yet it is not in my Power to Order any of them to the frontiers, they are, as to that most Martial Service, entirely useless."

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 62.

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(4) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., III, 52.

sand men were in the pay of the province; (1) in 1758 twelve thousand seventy-four are reported. (2) These were engaged in garrisoning the forts and ranging the frontiers.

After the first panic and confusion of 1763 had passed away the frontier settlers formed themselves voluntarily into companies (3) and the assembly ordered seven hundred men to be raised for the protection of the frontier during harvest. Most of these were newly raised and undisciplined troops, but working in conjuction with the voluntary companies they were able to gather in the greater part of the harvest. (4)

When the news came from New England in 1775 that the struggle with Great Britian had begun; the inhabitants of western Pennsylvania were involved in difficulties with the Indians and almost on the verge of civil war among themselves over the question of the boundry between Pennsylvania and Virginia. But within four weeks after the Battle of Lexington, meetings were held in Pittsburgh and Hannastown and resolutions unanimously passed indorsing entirely th action of Massachusetts. (5) It was determined to form military associations to oppose by force if necessary the encroachments of a "wicked ministry and a corrupted parliament." (6) A tax of 2s. 6d. per tithable man was also recommended for the purpose of providing the associations with arms and ammunition. A standing committee was appointed to collect, repair, and deliver such arms as could be obtained to the captains of the various companies. (7) The boundry question in the presence of the common danger became a minor issue. Other counties followed the same plan. (8) Thus the problem of organization was met until the state and the confederation were able to take up its solution.

A militia law providing for the enrollment of all males

(1) *Ibid*, 99.
(2) *Ibid*, 341.
(3) *Ibid*, IV, 120, 124.
(4) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 42. Governor Hamilton to Assembly, September 12, 1763: "I have___taken into the Pay of the Province Seven hundred Men___for the defence and protection of our Frontiers ___: And I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that under the aforesaid protection, great part of the Harvest, which is of so much Importance to the back Inhabitants, hath been gathered in, and as well secured as the Season of the Year would admit."
(5) *Olden Time*, I, 571-573.
(6) *Ibid*, 575.
(7) *Ibid*, 573.
(8) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., IV, 657.

sand men were in the pay of the province: (1) in 1758 twelve thousand seventy-four are reported. (2) These were engaged in garrisoning the forts and ranging the frontiers.

After the first panic and confusion of 1763 had passed away the frontier settlers formed themselves voluntarily into companies (3) and the assembly ordered seven hundred men to be raised for the protection of the frontier during harvest. Most of these were newly raised and undisciplined troops, but working in conjunction with the voluntary companies they were able to gather in the greater part of the harvest. (4)

When the news came from New England in 1775 that the struggle with Great Britain had begun, the inhabitants of western Pennsylvania were involved in difficulties with the Indians and almost on the verge of civil war among themselves over the question of the boundary between Pennsylvania and Virginia. But within four weeks after the Battle of Lexington, meetings were held in Pittsburgh and Hannastown and resolutions unanimously passed indorsing entirely the action of Massachusetts. (5) It was determined to form military associations to oppose by force if necessary the encroachments of a "wicked ministry and a corrupted parliament." (6) A tax of 2s. 6d. per tithable man was also recommended for the purpose of providing the associations with arms and ammunition. A standing committee was appointed to collect, repair, and deliver such arms as could be obtained to the captains of the various companies. (7) The boundary question in the presence of the common danger became a minor issue. Other counties followed the same plan. (8) Thus the problem of organization was met until the state and the confederation were able to take up its solution.

A militia law providing for the enrollment of all males

(1) Ibid, 89.
(2) Ibid, 341.
(3) Ibid, IV, 120, 121.
(4) Col Rec., IX, 62. Governor Hamilton to Assembly, September 12, 1763: "I have...taken into the Pay of the Province Seven hundred Men...for the defence and protection of our Frontiers ....: And I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that under the aforesaid protection, great part of the Harvest, which is of so much importance to the back Inhabitants, hath been gathered in, and as well secured as the Season of the Year would admit."
(5) Olden Time, I, 371-372.
(6) Ibid, 372.
(7) Ibid, 373.
(8) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., IV, 657.

between the ages of eighteen and fifty-three years passed the state legislature on March 17, 1777. (1) The country was divided into districts, the inhabitants of which should meet and elect their field officers, a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and a major; subdistricts were erected, each of which should elect captains, lieutenants, and ensigns. The Executive Council, in case of invasion or upon the request of Congress, could call the militia into service. Each enrolled man must serve in his turn or provide a substitute. Service as a substitute did not excuse a man from his own turn.

During the Indian wars of 1791 and 1795 the lieutenants of the frontier counties were authorized in case of actual invasion or imminent danger of invasion to order into service such parts of the militia as the situation seemed to require. (2) In 1793 and again in 1794 three temporary companies of riflemen were also provided to protect the frontiers of Westmoreland, Washington, and Allegheny counties. (3) Each company, according to the law of 1793, consisted of fifty privates, and officers, to continue in service for six months, unless the state of the war made it necessary for the governor to extend their time until the next meeting of the legislature. Captains received twenty-five dollars per month, lieutenants twenty, sergeants eigth, and privates six dollars and sixty cents. The law of 1794 was almost a replica of that of 1793. Each company, however, consisted of sixty-five instead of fifty privates; service was to continue for eight months instead of six; and the wages were slightly higher.

After 1754 a plan of patrolling the frontier was followed whenever danger threatened. Bodies of soldiers were stationed at intervals along the frontier. The main body was kept in garrison at a post near the center of their district. From here bands ranged each morning to the end of the district and back in the afternoon. (4) Signals by which a warning of danger could be spread were agreed upon with the inhabitants. (5) The bands consisted usually of from

(1) *Statutes at Large*, IX, 75-94.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., IV, 271. Governor Mifflin to Assembly: The military officers of the frontier counties were authorized to call out the militia and instructed "by virtue of the discretionary power which the law creates, to continue the three rifle companies in service, till the opening of the present session."

(3) *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 381; XV, 13.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 239.

(5) *Ibid*, 546.

ten to fifteen men; the posts were situated twelve or fifteen miles apart. (1) At times larger bands were sent to scout beyond the frontier as far as supplies could be provided for them. (2) In 1763 the people about the Great Cove raised money by subscription and employed a scouting party for two months to defend the north and western frontiers of Cumberland County. (3) During Dunmore's War parties were raised to range between Turtle Creek, Bullock Penns, Hannastown, Proctors, and Ligonier. (4) During the Revolution (5) and the later Indian wars (6) the same plan was followed.

The skill in marksmanship which tradition attributes to the frontiersman will not bear the light of careful investigation. Some, particularly among the hunters and traders, were doubtless very expert in the use of the rifle; but as a whole the settlers along the frontier would not appear to much greater advantage than our rural citizens of today. James Young, when on an inspection tour of the western forts in 1756, tested the marksmanship of the soldiers at the various garrisons. (7) At Fort Lebanon only fifteen out of twenty-eight were able to hit within two feet of the center of a target at eighty yards; at the fort above Alleminga not over four in twenty-five could hit a tree at eighty-five yards. James Burd, who inspected the forts in 1758, reports the same conditions as still existing. (8)

The task of recruiting, on account of the attitude taken by the Quakers and many of the Germans, was often tedious and difficult. This fact, as well as the methods sometimes used, is shown by the following extract from a letter written by Joseph Shippen to James Burd, May 31, 1757. "I have found little success, having enlisted as yet but five men. Captain Jameson writes me he has got but six. Captain Hambright has had better success; the day when all the Captains came to town to wait on the governor he enlisted twelve or thirteen of our discharged Dutchmen, by assuring them that they were not to go to Shamokin, nor do any kind of work, but to range and scour the woods continually. This pleased them so much that they have begun

(1) *Ibid*, 865.
(2) *Ibid*, 4th ser., II, 626.
(3) *Votes of Assembly*, VI, 296.
(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., IV, 514.
(5) *Col. Rec.*, XI, 750.
(6) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 693.
(7) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 677.
(8) *Ibid*, III, 352-357.

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(8) *Ibid*, III, 262-357.

endeavoring to persuade all their countrymen they meet with to enlist with Captain Hambright, by which means I belive he has now thirty recruits." (1) Captain Hambright's brother, who was at the same time recruiting at Lancaster, gave each man a dollar and provided him with a pistol.

When General Forbes was raising forces for the expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1752, Provost William Smith at his request wrote and published an address to the colonies calling upon them to raise in defence of their liberties. (2) "Rise then, my countrymen! as you value the blessings you enjoy, and dread the evils that hang over you, rise and show yourselves worthy of the name of Britons! rise to secure to your posterity, peace, freedom, and a pure religion! rise to chastise a perfidious nation for their breach of treaties, their detestible cruelties, and their horrid murders."

The soldiers, as might be expected under such laws as the assembly provided for their regulation, sometimes showed an inclination to disobedience and insubordination. The officer was rather an advisor than a commander. There was no court martial to punish offenders. Public odium was the only penalty. Even this had little weight as the soldier always received the sympathy of the Quakers and German pacifists. To the honor of the soldier it may nevertheless be said that glaring cases of disobedience were very rare. (3)

Neglect of duty was often more serious. The scouting parties sometimes did not go to their destination; (4) some officers failed to send out any scouts at all; others were drunken and totally unfit. Relief was at times refused to

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(1) BALCH, *Letters and Papers*, 82.

(2) SMITH, WILLIAM, *Discourses*, App. 21-31.

(3) DODDRIDGE, *Notes*, 110.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 727. William Findley to Secretary Dallas, June 18, 1792: "The Neglect and disobedience of the officers and scouting parties has obliged him (Major McCully) to keep two Companies embodied at one station, where he can enforce the execution of his own Orders. It appears that small scouting parties sent out by Guthrie, never went the length of their destination; this is proved beyond dispute by their trail in the weeds. Cooper sent out no scouts nor did any duty, he has turned out worse than my fears."

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those in danger. (1) Desertion, too, was common. (2)

Mutiny sometimes broke out among the men. An instance of this took place at Fort Bedford in 1760. (3) The garrison, on account of a report that they were to receive no pay after January 15, refused to do their duty. They rescued one of their leaders who had been imprisoned. The commandant, drawing his sword and threatening to kill any one who resisted, was able to retake the prisoner. By setting before the men their disgraceful behavior, by threats of court martial and forfeiture of pay he finally succeeded in quelling the disturbance and bringing the men back to a sense of their duty. In 1794 the garrison at Fort Le Boeuf almost broke into mutiny upon the imprisonment of some men who had stolen brandy from the warehouse. The ringleader was, however, secured and sent to Fort Pitt for detention. (4) The troops were becoming dissatisfied because the time set by law for obtaining bounty lands had almost elapsed (5) without their being able to locate any on account of Indian opposition.

But in spite of desertion, neglect of duty, and an occasional mutiny we may say that in general the soldier per-

(1) *Ibid,* VI, 797. Report of Andrew Ellicott, December 30, 1794: "From some experience of the disutility of our frontier Block House establishments, owing to a general neglect of duty, I would, upon the principles of economy, recommend that they be discontinued. Among the many instances of the inutility of those establishments, I shall take the liberty of relating the following fact: Last June, a party of five Indians attacked three men in a canoe, on the Allegheny River, wounded two, and killed the third. The survivors immediately informed the detachment stationed at a neighboring Block-House of their misfortune; but the commanding officer, instead of sending out a party to oppose the enemy, shut himself up in the building, and stationed a centinal on the top of the house, to give the alarm, should they appear in the neighborhood of the work."

(2) *Pittsburg Gazette,* June 23, 1788.
Col. Rec., VIII, 225.

(3) BALCH, *Letters and Papers,* 171.

(4) *Pa. Arch.,* 2nd ser., VI, 771. A letter dated September 3, 1794, from Captain Denny to General Harmar giving a full Description of the mutiny at Fort Le Boeuf.

(5) *Ibid,* 775. Andrew Ellicott to Governor Mifflin, September 4, 1794: (The season is now so far advanced that the act of assembly as far as regards bounties may be considered as already expended.) "But this I have carefully concealed from the state troops, two thirds of whom at least came out for the express purpose of making improvements. They are already much discontented, and fear they have been imposed upon; and but few men would have been able to manage them until this period as well as Capt. Denny has done."

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(2) Pittsburg Gazette, June 23, 1794.
Col. Rec., VIII, 228.

(3) Bacon, Letters and Papers, 171.

(4) Pa. Arch., 2nd ser., VI, 771. A letter dated September 2, 1764, from Captain Denny to General Barnard giving a full Description of the mutiny at Fort Le Boeuf.

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formed his duties willingly, arduous though they might be. I can do no better than to quote here the tribute of Captain Walker to his troops. "One third of our men ware Constantly Imployed as Guards to the Inhabitants, and, I may Aferm, in Harvest the one half ware Imployed the same way, nor can any man in the County say he ever Asked a guard (when he had a Just Occasion) and was denied. Dureing this time the Troops ware not supplied even with Ration Whiskey, allmoste Neaked, for want of Blankets and Cloathes, and yet I have the satisfaction to inform you they done their Duty Cheerfully." (1)

(To be concluded.)

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., VII, 383. Captain Walker was stationed at Fort Muncy during the Revolution.

A PATRIOTIC GERMAN-AMERICAN

Address of Charles F. W. von Bonnhorst at the Celebration of the Anniversary of American Independence, held at Economy, Pennsylvania, on July 4, 1833

The Harmonists were ever patriotic American citizens, and in many ways manifested their love for their adopted country. No person of long American lineage observed with more ardor the natal day of the Independence of the United States. On July 4, 1833, a celebration was held at Economy which was of more than usual interest. At noon the band began to play on the church tower, and the people commenced gathering in front of the church. From there they marched to the Concert Hall where the ceremonies took place. The proceedings were in German. The Declaration of Independence was read by Carl L. Volz, a prominent resident of Pittsburgh, of German birth, whose son, Ferdinand Volz, was afterward mayor of the city. The address of the day was then delivered by Charles F. W. von Bonnhorst.

Mr. von Bonnhorst deserves more than a passing notice. Born in 1776, in Prussia, the scion of a noble house, he served as an officer in the Prussian army, and after the battle of Jena in 1806, in which he commanded an artillery corps, he emigrated to this country. In Philadelphia he was married to the daughter of an old American family, and in 1810 came west and settled in Mifflin Township, Allegheny County, where he engaged in sheep raising. In 1821 he located in Pittsburgh, became a member of the Board of Alderman, studied law and was admitted to the bar of the county continuing in the legal profession until his death on February 23, 1844. He gloried in his American citizenship, and always practiced the patriotism which he preached on that memorable Fourth of July, 1833. His descendants have been equally distinguished. His son, Sidney F. von Bonnhorst, was postmaster of Pittsburgh under Presidents Lincoln and Johnston, afterward holding various important positions in the city, and at his death was secretary and treasurer of the Peoples Savings Bank, now the Peoples Savings Bank and Trust Company. George M. von Bonnhorst, the son of Sidney F. von Bonnhorst, like his father, was prominent in political life, being recorder of deeds of Allegheny County from 1891 to 1903, the year of his death. The only surviving son of Sidney F. von Bonnhorst is William E. von Bonnhorst, assistant secretary and assistant treasurer of the Dollar Savings Bank, who resides with his three sisters in Chartiers Township, in the old homestead which has been in the family for nearly a century.

ADDRESS OF MR. VON BONNHORST.

Fellow citizens and friends! The 57th anniversary of the independence of the United States has come to us to-day. It reminds us of our duty to render thanks to the Creator of all things for His assistance in freeing this land from the yoke of insolent tyrants. To every citizen,

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The Harmonists were ever patriotic American citizens, and in many ways manifested their love for their adopted country. No person of long American lineage observed with more ardor the natal day of the independence of the United States. On July 4, 1820, a celebration was held at Economy which was of more than usual interest. At noon the band began to play on the church tower, and the people commenced gathering in front of the church. From there they marched to the Concert Hall where the exercises took place. The proceedings were in German. The Declaration of Independence was read by Carl L. Volz, a prominent resident of Pittsburgh, of German birth, whose son, Ferdinand Volz, was afterward mayor of the city. The address of the day was then delivered by Charles F. W. von Bonnhorst.

Mr. von Bonnhorst descended from a prestige noble. Born in 1776, in Prussia, the scion of a noble house, he served as an officer in the Prussian army, and after the battle of Jena in 1806, in which he commanded an artillery corps, he emigrated to this country. In Philadelphia he was married to the daughter of an old American family, and in 1810 came west and settled in Butler Township, Allegheny County where he engaged in sheep raising. In 1821 he moved to Pittsburgh, became a member of the Board of Aldermen, studied law and was admitted to the bar of the county courts, practicing in the local jurisdiction until his death on February 23, 1844. He joined in his American citizenship, and always practiced the patriotism which he preached on that memorable Fourth of July, 1832. His descendants have been equally distinguished. His son, Sidney F. von Bonnhorst, was postmaster of Pittsburgh under Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, afterward holding various important positions in the city, and at his death was secretary and treasurer of the Peoples Savings Bank, now the Peoples Savings Bank and Trust Company. George M. von Bonnhorst, the son of Sidney F. von Bonnhorst, like his father, was prominent in political life, being recorder of deeds of Allegheny County from 1891 to 1895, the year of his death. The only surviving son of Sidney F. von Bonnhorst is William E. von Bonnhorst, assistant secretary and assistant treasurer of the Dollar Savings Bank, who resides with his three sisters in Carnegie Township, in the old homestead which has been in the family for nearly a century.

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whether he was born in this country, or adopted by it, this day is a day of blessing, of thanksgiving and rejoicing. We, have much reason to celebrate this day when we consider the advantages that have accrued to us from the first day of independence, when we remember what disgrace was brought upon us by the despotism which trampled human rights under its feet so long.

Indeed, let us rejoice that the sun of divine freedom enlightened the first patriots of this country with its blessed rays to shake off the yoke of British despotism, to proclaim themselves free, and to destroy the notion that men were created only for the sake of the princes in order to be the wretched tools of their tyranny. Next to God, we are indebted to those noble-minded patriots that we are assembled here today as freemen, and that we are enjoying the blessings of liberty, the protection of liberal laws, and the sacred rights of man. These are blessings that we could never expect in our fatherland, which treated us very unkindly as regards religious, civil, and every other liberty; in which only the arbitrariness of licentious, extravagant tyrants and of avaricious and imperious officials wields the bloody scourge over mankind. Our hearts should be filled with joy and gratitude toward this happy land, which affords us a place of refuge from those blood-stained tyrants who scoff at every human right.

The worthy founder of your society and those who followed him to this country of liberty and of human rights, have learned only too well how far the arbitrariness of a despot can go. Merely because of opinions different from those of the majority, he forced a number of industrious subjects to emigrate, to leave their homes with bleeding hearts, to flee at great hazard to strange people on a strange continent, to undergo every kind of hardship. They had to part with their relations, their friends, the home of their forefathers, the home of their youth, to bid farewell forever to those who were dear to them, in order to seek a new country whose manners, speech, and climate were entirely different from theirs, where they must necessarily expect to struggle with many difficulties.

Notwithstanding, their faith in God's providence was strong; they also relied upon their own strong arms; they were not idlers who wished to enjoy themselves at the expense of strangers. Their own industry combined with God's help, with temperance, and patient endurance, was to be enough to further their common welfare in a strange country. They were not expecting gold mines, their industry and

frugality were to be their gold mines. How well they calculated is demonstrated by your present prosperity, your green fields, your factories.

Your lot is enviable. You are not obliged to struggle for a bare existence. You live only for one another like brothers and sisters, in harmony. There is among you no envy, no hatred to disturb your peace of mind; hence, you must be happy. How many millions of our countrymen are languishing in misery, in their own country oppressed by despots, robbed by avaricious officials. Right and justice are trampled under foot! The poor are starving. The more prosperous are near ruin, since a high tariff hinders and paralyzes every kind of commerce.

What a picture of our fatherland! And what is the cause of all this distress? What is the cause of this misery? It is the fact that the princes are not willing to have their eyes opened for the good of all. It is because they treat their subjects not as freemen, but as wretched slaves. What a sad picture is held out to us by Poland, unfortunate Poland! Formerly it was an elective monarchy with at least fifteen millions of inhabitants! How rent by discord it is now! Thousands of its best citizens are languishing in Siberia with their wives and children! And why? Because they tried to gain their freedom by fighting. The bonds of nature are dissolved there! Fathers and sons in the most terrible exile; mothers, daughters, and little children, reduced to beggary, are wandering through their devastated country, which is drenched with the blood of its best citizens. What a terrible thought for those exiles!

To know that their wives and children are living in misery, exposed to the parsimonious pity of an unfeeling world, and to be unable to help! To see themselves separated, perhaps forever, from those who are dear to their hearts! Their lot must be desperate. However, a day of retribution will come. The tyrants who, with fiendish vindictiveness, were capable of destroying an honest, unfortunate nation, will some day be compelled to give an account of their infamous deeds. God is forbearing, but also just. He will visit their crimes upon them; their dynasties will cease to exist like those of Alexander, Napoleon and others who ruled the world with iron rods.

How shall, or can, our unfortunate fatherland be saved, or a better order of things be brought about? Perhaps by those demagogues who, through rash steps have only provoked the ill-will and wrath of the princes, and have thereby made their countrymen all the more unhappy and almost

ruined them? Vain hope! France, England, Ireland, Poland give evidence that an unorganized mass can gain nothing by force against half a million of bayonets as long as discord separates the masses. At present unfortunate Ireland is even placed under martial law. The fate of nations ruled by tyrants must remain undecided until the spark of divine reason shall enlighten their agents, so that the latter really comprehend the misery of their people, or until the masses of the people shall unite to obtain their rights by force in spite of all resistance.

The latter contingency is hardly to be expected, the former will not come about until millions of their best and most prosperous citizens shall have left their homes in order to find a better country free from despotic oppression and from the even more harmful influence of avaricious officials. And where on earth is such a country to be found, unless it be our happy land? Indeed, my friends, millions of our abused, oppressed countrymen, from whom their life-blood has been drawn, will come to this hemisphere, seek the protection of our beneficent laws in order to enjoy here the tranquillity and contentment which were refused them on their native soil. There will be hundreds, nay thousands of German settlements here.

It is to be desired, however, that those masses of emigrants should not include fanatics, but should consist of nothing but industrious Germans who would not disgrace the good name of the Germans. Come, then, ye industrious useful Germans! We will receive you with open arms and help you in every way. Here you will be free, you will no longer be fettered by chains of slavery. Here you will forget the sufferings, the insults which were heaped upon you in your native land. However, remember at the same time that this divine liberty must not be misused, must not become license, but must be enjoyed only by the exercise of reason. How many examples are there found in the history of the world, of men who, freed from the oppression of slavery, fell into a state of absolute lack of restraint. Our constitution, a masterpiece in the art of government, protects the personal rights of every citizen, no official may dare to oppress him without having to fear severe punishment. Our constitution bears the stamp of wise men; by it, it has been made impossible that the few shall rule over the many. The freedom of the press, of speech, of public meetings organized for peaceful purposes, the jury system, are indestructible bulwarks against the arbitrariness of individuals. Here neither the physical nor the mental growth of the people can be

checked. Here free utterance of one's opinions, a free discussion of all subjcts are sacred, inviolable rights.

According to the constitution religious exercises are to be respected; and all the states of the Union are forbidden ever to make laws concerning matters of faith, ever to combine a spiritual power with the power of the state. No one must be harmed on account of his opinions in matters of religion. No pretext must be used to force anyone to submit to members of the clergy or, upon the demand of such members, to give even the slightest thing for religious purposes. All this is to be voluntary! Such attitude does not indicate lack of religiousness; it is experience gained only too dearly that gave rise to these principles. People have always observed that greed and fanaticism eagerly seized upon every pretext in order to gain control over the people, to fetter them both intellectually and physically. Where in the world is there a country where these fundamental and most sacred rights of men are exercised or sanctioned as in ours?

What do the laws of antiquity, those of Minos, Lycurgus, Solon, Plato, in short of all Greeks and Romans, amount to in comparison with ours? The former never recognized the equality of rights, the independence of the individual and the people. They knew nothing of our present means of education and communication, the quick reproduction and propagation of writings. Their views were therefore much narrower. Let us compare them with those of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Hamilton, Franklin, Henry Ames, Madison, and other founders of our independence and authors of our constitution. This document, which emanated from the inspired genius of these noble-minded men, has obviated every arbitrariness and every encroachment upon man's rights.

Their names, as well as our fundamental laws, will be transmitted to the remotest ages and be mentioned with respect. Also their manes are hovering around us, on this festival day, in order to be witnesses of our gratitude; they, too, in the world of spirits, rejoice in their great deeds, in the triumph of the human rights over despicable tyranny. May their memory be sacred to us, may they rest in peace! Indeed, my friends, such were the men who are the cause of this festival day. And only as far as the citizens submit to this constitution and to the laws of the state, as they observe and respect them faithfully, can they be regarded as good citizens of the state and lay claim to its protection.

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Pennsylvania, the keystone in the structure of this state, where thousands, not only of our countrymen, but also of the oppressed of other nationalities, found a place of refuge, is and always will be ready to grant them such a place, as long as it can hold them; otherwise there are millions of acres in other states where the oppressed can find a home.

Under the protection of God's kind providence our happy land is flourishing. We are at peace with the rest of the world. Our flag is respected and feared in all parts of the world. Trade and commerce are flourishing. Our factories offer a rare example of perfection, so that not only here, but abroad preference is given to many articles manufactured in this country above those made in Europe. Our revenues are such that our national debt has been entirely paid. Where in the world is there a state that has done as much? But I also ask: where is there a wiser government, a better constitution, founded upon economy, than ours? And if we should be involved in war, we have sufficient resources to cover its cost without claiming the help of others. Arts and sciences are flourishing. Every stranger admires the colossal enterprises and improvements, our canals, our roads, our bridges and public buildings.

Even the proud British, who never think that there is anything great, imposing, or beautiful, except in their own island, are carried away with admiration; involuntarily they exclaim: "Indeed, this is a great people, whose inventive genius has produced greater results in the brief period of fifty-seven years than the old nations of Europe could produce in five hundred years." But as soon as they recall that this nation defeated their best armies and took their fleets, their indignation rises to its highest point and their admiration ceases.

They are no longer willing to admit that they could discover anything beautiful and imposing. How many other nations are similar to the British! Their jealousy, their petty spirit do not allow them to admit that we are just as far advanced in the arts and sciences, in all branches of industry, in the invention of all kinds of useful things, as the inhabitants of the old world. Many strangers who visit our country feel bored, because they have neither the purpose nor the faculty to make themselves useful in this country. And when their means are exhausted, they abuse and revile the country and its inhabitants, because the latter are not willing to confirm them in their laziness and to feed them. America does not need such people.

Only industrious people reap advantages here. America owes its greatness to its labor and industry, which are founded principally upon liberty and independence. In freemen the mind is also free, no servile disposition fetters it. The legislator's tongue is not paralyzed by servile fear of incurring the displeasure of despots. What made our armies, our fleets victorious? freemen who fought for their own hearths, for their wives and children, and not to please the whim of a prince. To the American liberty is something sacred whose violation he is ready to avenge by sacrificing his last drop of blood. Our sailors are the pride of our country, the terror of our enemies. And like Caesar, they came, saw and conquered. Only freemen can accomplish such deeds. Mercenaries cannot do it. And while they win these laurels, they glorify at the same time the American nation. God, in His supreme kindness, has so far blessed our country most plentifully.

Never have we felt the misery of famine like other countries. And this year again our fields promise abundant crops. Heaven's blessings are seen wherever our eyes turn. Indeed, it almost seems that we are a people especially favored by God. How much more reason have we, therefore, to be grateful to the giver of all good things for His love, His kindness towards us! And although our happy land also has been visited since a year past by that general plague, cholera, which has wrought such havoc in other countries, yet it has been hitherto less harmful than in other regions.

Who does not see that there is also a divine purpose in this fact? God will bring us to our senses so that we may not become too proud, but remember that our lives are in His power. Would that we might take this to heart and by a virtuous life please Him, our Protector, and love, respect, and fear Him above everything! Now, since there are so many reasons why we should be contented, and God's blessings have come to us in such abundance, should we not also strive, in conjunction with our brothers, to live in harmony, to do away with all factious spirit, and call ourselves only Americans so that we may not lose the many benefits which He has bestowed upon us. May conceit never allure us to suppose that we are the creators of our happiness, our prosperity, but may we recognize and worship, Him, our kind Father, as the final source of everything.

Is it not due to His kind beckoning that our steps were directed to this happy land? Did He not rescue us from the misery and the tribulations, which were the cause of our languishing in our oppressed fatherland? Oh! let us be

thankful! But let us not forget the indigent emigrant, but let us help him as much as is in our power; let us see in him only the indigent brother, of whatever nationality he may be, so that he, too, may say: "Happy the man whose heart is rejoiced and strengthened by a new flourishing country, who found even in the remotest region good people ready to assist him."

Then we shall be worthy of the name of Germans. May God's kind providence protect us and save us from all tribulations! May we all enjoy health so that we may celebrate together a great many more anniversaries of our independence.

Father of all beings! Jehovah! God who art enthroned in Heaven! Reverently we pray to Thee on this anniversary of the Independence of these United States that Thou mayest kindly look at us, and hear our prayer which thy Son Jesus taught us! Holy, holy is Thy name which is worshipped by millions of men! Let Thy holy kingdom, the knowledge of Thee be increased among us on this solemn day! Let Thy will become more sacred to us, give us strength joyfully to do Thy holy will on earth.

Let us daily find the means for our maintenanace on earth! Forgive us, kind Father, our debts even as we forgive those who offend us, from the bottom of our hearts. Exempt us from heavy sufferings and temptations! Help us in all our calamities! Give us faith, strength, and courage to endure them. Free us more and more from the power of evil! Let our souls always be filled with good sentiments and resolutions, so we shall always please Thee.

To Thee, our Father, who rulest and canst do everything, to Thee are due worship and adoration forever. Amen.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION ON THE MONONGAHELA RIVER

By W. Espy Albig*

Although the traffic on the Monongahela River from Brownsville to the Ohio had advanced from the canoe of the Indian and the Kentucky boat of the emigrant of Revolutionary times, to a water borne traffic of no mean size in passengers and miscellaneous freight, and to more than a million bushels of coal annually before the Monongahela waterway was improved by the installation of locks and dams late in 1841, yet no records remain of the constantly increasing stream of commerce passing over this route between the east and the west. Here and there remains a fragment from a traveller, a ship builder or a merchant giving a glimpse of the river activity of the later years of the 18th century and the early ones of the 19th century.

The Ohio Company early recognized the importance of this waterway, and in 1754 Captain Trent on his way to the forks of the Ohio by Nemacolin's and the Redstone trails, built "The Hangard" at the mouth of Redstone Creek. From April 17th, when he surrendered his works to the French and retreated in canoes up the Monongahela, this avenue became more and more important until the steam railways supplanted the slower traffic by water.

The easy navigation of this stream led that man of keen insight, George Washington, into error, when, under date of May 27, 1754, he writes: "This morning Mr. Gist arrived from his place, where a detachment of fifty men (French) was seen yesterday. . . . I immediately detached seventy-five men in pursuit of them, who I hope will overtake them before they get to Redstone, where their canoes lie."

These men, however, had come by Nemacolin's trail; but the force of 500 French and 400 Indians which followed close upon the heels of Washington after his defeat of Jumonville, and captured him at Fort Necessity, came up the Monongahela from Fort Duquesne in pirogues.

The expedition of General Braddock in 1755, disastrous though it was, opened the way from the East to the fertile lands of the Ohio Valley. Under date of May 24, 1766, George Groghan, Deputy Indian Agent, writes from Fort Pitt: "As soon as the peace was made last year (by Colonel

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Bouquet) contrary to our engagements to them (the Indians) a number of our people came over the Great Mountain and settled at Redstone Creek, and upon the Monongahela, before they (the Indians) had given the country to the King, their father."

A letter written from Winchester, Virginia, under date of April 30, 1765, says: "The frontier inhabitants of this colony and Maryland are removing fast over the Alleghany Mountains in order to settle and live there."

This migration was augmented by Pennsylvanians, following the act passed in 1780, which provided for the gradual abolition of slavery. At about this time, too, it became generally known that the Monongahela Valley was Pennsylvania territory rather than that of Virginia. Kentucky was an inviting district and her charms were made patent to all. So general became migration to Kentucky that the name "Kentucky Boat," was applied to the flat used in transportation on the Monongahela at that time. Boatyards for the construction of all manner of river craft were opened at Brownsville where the overland route from Cumberland and the east first reached communication with the western waters, and at Elizabethtown (now Elizabeth) fourteen miles from the mouth of the Monongahela River.

In 1784 a petition was presented at the September term of the Fayette County Court for a road from "Redstone Old Fort along the river side to the grist and sawmill at the mouth of Little Redstone and to Collo. Edw'd Cook's," since, "the intercourse along the river is so considerable, by reason of the number of boats for passengers, which are almost constantly building in different parts along the Riverside." The petition was granted.

The *Pennsylvania Journal* of Philadelphia, in its issue of February 13, 1788, carried the statement that "Boats of every dimension may be had at Elizabeth-Town, in the course of next spring and summer . . . where provisions of all kinds may be had at a very cheap rate, particularly flour, there being no less than six grist mills within the circumference of three or four miles." In its issue of August 20th in the same year the *Pennsylvania Journal* carried an advertisement that at "Elizabeth-Town on the Monongahela," the proprietor (Stephen Bayard) "had erected a Boat yard . . . where timber is plenty, and four of the best Boat Builders from Philadelphia are constantly employed."

Captain John May, who gave his name to the settlement at the mouth of Limestone Creek, Kentucky, and who in 1790 was killed by the Indians while descending the Ohio,

under date of May 5, 1788, writes in his diary: "This day was raised here (at Elizabeth-Town) a large shed for building boats. Almost all the Kentucky boats from the east pass this place: near two hundred have passed this spring."

The hardships entailed by this migration were enormous. During the severe winters when the Monongahela was ice bound the road leading through Brownsville to the river was lined on both sides with emigrant wagons whose occupants with difficulty prevented themselves from perishing from the cold.

The Indian ravages on the boats on the Ohio and on the settlers in the Kentucky country occurred with terrifying frequency. Possibly fifteen hundred people perished through these attacks in the seven years following the close of the Revolutionary War. Finally the boats going down from Pittsburgh formed in brigades. Denny's Military Journal, of April 19, 1790, gives an account of one such flotilla containing sixteen "Kentucky Boats," and two keelboats. The flatboats were lashed together three abreast and kept in one line. The women and children, along with animals were placed in the middle boats, while the outside ones were defended and worked by the men. These boats were guarded on either flank by the keels. In this case the Indians did not attack, but the unwieldy craft were almost wrecked in a furious storm of wind and rain. Despite these drawbacks, however, by 1790 the Kentucky country had a population of approximately 74,000 people, many of whom had come down the Monongahela.

With the opening by France of the West Indies to trade, and the right of deposit secured at New Orleans from Spain, the western trade, enormously expanded, bade fair to be controlled by Pennsylvania.

Pittsburgh at mouth of the Monongahela had a commanding part of that traffic. Except for three or four months in the dry season this town was crowded with emigrants for the western country. Boat building was the chief industry of the place. Log canoes, pirogues, skiffs, bateaux, arks, Kentucky broadhorns, New Orleans boats, barges and keel boats with masts and sails—all were awaiting the emigrant. The people of the Tennessee and Kentucky country brought all their supplies from Philadelphia and from Baltimore, now almost an equal commercial rival of her northern neighbor, and shipped their produce to New Orleans.

Pennsylvania early appreciated the value of the Monongahela and its chief tributary, the Youghiogheny River. On the 15th of April, 1782, the Assembly of the state enacted a

law declaring "That the said rivers, so far as they or either of them have been or can be made navigable for rafts, boats, canoes, and within the bounds and limits of this state, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, public highways."

In 1814 the Assembly authorized the governor to appoint "Three disinterested citizens" "to view and examine the river Monongahela" and report "the most suitable places for constructing dams, locks, works or devices necessary to be made to render said river navigable through the whole distance." Nothing resulted from this action, nor from a similar action taken the following year, although an examination was made under the act of 1815.

In 1817 the assembly authorized the Governor to incorporate a company to make a lock navigation on the river, and appropriated $30,000 with which to buy stock in the company. No tangible good resulted from this, since the conditions of this act were not met and forfeiture resulted in 1822, when the state took the improving of the Monongahela unto itself; not, however, before it gave permission to those persons who were aiding navigation by building dams in the river to charge toll for their use.

In 1828 E. F. Gay, a civil engineer, made a comprehensive report to the state giving the result of a survey, but the assembly took no action. An effort was made in 1832 to have Congress authorize the work, as an extension, under the act of 1824, of the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio to the National Road at Brownsville. Congress provided for the survey, which was made in 1833 by Dr. William Howard, United States civil engineer. He planned to have locks of a height not exceeding four and one-half feet, which would be used only in case of low water; however, Congress refused to authorize the work.

In 1835 the National Road was turned over to the states through whose territory its course lay. On November 18th, of the same year, a public meeting at Waynesburg, Greene County, recommended the improvement of the Monongahela by the state. This suggestion was eagerly urged by practically the whole district between Brownsville and Pittsburgh, and the desired legislation was attained.

On March 31, 1836, the "Monongahela Navigation Company" was authorized by Act of Assembly. It was to make a slack water navigation from Pittsburgh to the Virginia state line, and as much farther as Virginia would allow it to go. The capital was to be $300,000, in shares of fifty dollars. The locks were to be four and one-half feet high. The

charter was issued in 1837. The state subscribed $25,000, and later in 1840, $100,000 more on condition "That all descending crafts owned by citizens of Pennsylvania, not calculated or intended to return, from any point between Millsborough and the Virginia state line, shall pass free of toll through any lock or dam of the lower division of said improvement until the company shall put the first dam above Brownsville in the second division under contract, and complete the same. . . ."

The ill-starred United States Bank, now an institution of Pennsylvania, was required to subscribe for $100,000 of stock. The total subscriptions amounted to $308,100. From Pittsburgh to Brownsville was found to be fifty-five and one-half miles, and the ascent thirty-three and one-half feet; from Brownsville to the Virginia line, a little over thirty-five miles, the ascent was forty-one feet—a total of ninety and one-half miles, and an ascent of seventy-four and one-half feet, requiring seventeen dams. Higher dams were then authorized, making four necessary below Brownsville, and three above to the state line.

Before these dams could be completed the credit of the state, which had been strained to the breaking point during the years from 1820 to 1830 for internal improvements, broke; the United States Bank collapsed, leaving unfilled $50,000 of its obligation to the company; many of the private stockholders refused payment; the state's subscription of $100,000, being in bonds was collected at a loss; Baltimore capitalists refused aid; and, crowning all, a break developed in Dam No. 1 in 1843, which made expensive repairs necessary. The whole project become a "mortification to its friends and projectors, and a nuisance to the navigation." The legislature, however, in order to improve the financial condition of the state, directed, by Act of July 27, 1842, repeated by Act of April 8, 1843, sales of all its corporation stocks, including the $125,000 in this company. This stock was bought in for $7,187,50 by a group of men—James K. Moorhead, Morgan Robertson, George Schnable, Charles Avery, Thomas M. Howe, John Graham, Thomas Bakewell, J. B. Moorhead and John Freeman—who with effective energy had on November 13, 1844, the entire improvements repaired and completed for use to Brownsville, where connection was made with the National Road, which in turn connected at Cumberland, seventy-five miles distant, with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from Baltimore. Pittsburgh at last was brought within thirty hours of the Atlantic seaboard.

Long before the Monongahela River had been improved, however, and the steamboat had driven the keel boat and the flat boat from the western waters, the feeble frontier settlements of the Monongahela Valley were preparing to utilize the commercial possibilities of the southwest. In 1800 certain farmers near Elizabeth built a schooner of two hundred and fifty tons burden, launched it in the spring of 1801, christening it the "Monongahela Farmer." Her cargo taken on at Elizabeth and Pittsburgh, among other things, consisted of 721 barrels of flour, 500 barrels of whisky, 4,000 deer skins, 2,000 bear skins, large quantities of hemp and flax, and firearms, ammunition and provisions for the crew of eight men. The vessel was not rigged for sailing at this time. In the instructions to the master, Mr. John Walker, he was told to "proceed without unnecessary delay to the city of New Orleans. Should the markets for flour be low at New Orleans and the vessel appear to sell to disadvantage, you in that case have it in your power to sell a part of the cargo, to purchase, rigging, fit out the vessel and employ hands to sail her to any of the Islands you in your judgment and to the best information may think best, and then make sale of the vessel and cargo."

This boat left Pittsburgh on a June rise, was attacked by the Indians, lost one man by drowning, was detained by reason of low water for three months at the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville) and for some weeks on a bar, now called Walker's Bar, above Hurricane Island, reached New Orleans and with her cargo was sold profitably, although the flour was soured by being stored in the damp hold. The master contracted yellow fever, but recovered, and returned home after an absence of fourteen months; and, during the following year (1803), superintended the construction of the brig Ann Jane, 450 tons burden, loaded her with flour and whisky, and sailed with profit to New York by way of the rivers, the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean. Thus the commerce of the Monongahela flourished until the Enterprise, 45 tons, the fourth steamboat on western waters, was built at Brownsville in 1814. The era of steam had begun.

The Monongahela products were becoming well known. Its flour "is celebrated in foreign markets, for its superiority, and it generally sells for one dollar more per barrel in New Orleans than any other flour taken from this country to that market. The best and greatest quantity of rye whiskey is made on this river. Peach and apple brandy, cider and cider-royal are also made in great abundance."

Harris' Directory of Pittsburgh (1844) says of Elizabethtown, which along with Brownsville, was the leader in developing commercial transportation on the Monongahela: "In 1797 the ship-building was commenced at that place. From that time up to 1826 a considerable trade was done in building barges, keelboats, and other craft. From the latter period to the present time, it is presumed Elizabeth has built a larger number of valuable steam vessels than any other place in the United States according to its population. Amount of steamboat tonnage built at Elizabeth from 1826 to 1837—80 boats, averaging 240 tons—is 19,200. From 1837 to 1840—30 boats averaging 200 tons is 6,000. From 1840 to 1844—47 boats averaging 240 tons each is 11,280.
Tonnage, 36,480.
The success of the ship building industry at Elizabeth led to the opening of boatyards at Bellevernon and California. The slackwater equipment multiplied commerce enormously. It was estimated that during 1837 the loss occasioned to coal alone by the ice was at least $40,000. In October, 1838, there was approximately 750,000 bushels of coal laden on boats which had been waiting three months for a shipping stage of water. Under date of January 1, 1840, Thomas McFadden, wharfmaster of Pittsburgh, gives a statement of the number of arrivals and departures of steamboats employed regularly in the Monongahela trade: "In addition to which a number of steamboats have occasionally gone to Browsville, and a large number of flat-boats loaded with coal, have descended the river without stopping at this port." Steamers. Tons. Voyages. Liberty 83 tons 21 voyages; Franklin 34 tons 65 voyages; Pike 35 tons 34 voyages; Shannon 77 tons 43 voyages; Ploughman 38 tons 58 voyages; Royal 68 tons 29 voyages; Excel 41 tons 13 voyages; Exact 61 tons 3 voyages; Total tons 14,196; Traveller, Ranger, D. Crockett, running constantly and employed in towing flats, rafts, etc., 686 keels and flats loaded with produce 9,482 tons; 1048 flats loaded with coal, brick, and tonnage unknown. Total tons 23,678.

During 1845 toll was received to the amount of over $15,000 from freights and rafts, etc; above $8,000 for passengers of whom almost twenty-three thousand were through passengers; and above $5,000 for coal amounting to more than four and one-half millions of bushels.

This favorable showing was increased during the next year to above $20,000 for freights; to above $12,000 for passengers, of whom almost 35,000 were through passengers

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Tonnage, 86,450.

The success of the ship building industry at Elizabeth led to the opening of boatyards at Belleverron and California. The slackwater equipment multiplied commerce enormously. It was estimated that during 1837 the loss occasioned to coal alone by the ice was at least $10,000. In October, 1838, there was approximately 750,000 bushels of coal laden on boats which had been waiting three months for a shipping stage of water. Under date of January 1, 1840, Thomas McFadden, wharfmaster of Pittsburgh, gives a statement of the number of arrivals and departures of steamboats employed regularly in the Monongahela trade: "In addition to which a number of steamboats have occasionally gone to Brownsville, and a large number of flat-boats loaded with coal, have descended the river without stopping at this port." Steamers. Tons. Voyages. Liberty 83 tons 21 voyages; Franklin 84 tons 65 voyages; Pike 85 tons 34 voyages; Shannon 77 tons 42 voyages; Houghman 38 tons 58 voyages; Royal 68 tons 20 voyages; Excel 41 tons 12 voyages; Exact 61 tons 3 voyages: Total tons 14,196: Traveller, Ranger, D. Crockett, running constantly and employed in towing flats, rafts, etc., 650 keels and flats loaded with produce 9,482 tons; 1043 flats loaded with coal, brick, and tonnage unknown. Total tons 23,678.

During 1846 toll was received to the amount of over $15,000 from freights and rafts, etc; above $8,000 for passengers of whom almost twenty-three thousand were through passengers; and above $5,000 for coal amounting to more than four and one-half millions of bushels.

This favorable showing was increased during the next year to above $20,000 for freights; to above $12,000 for passengers, of whom almost 35,000 were through passengers

to or from the east; to above $10,000 for coal, amounting to more than seven and one-half millions of bushels.

Commerce continued to increase. Classified freights continued until the tolls in 1852, when the Pennsylvania Railroad reached Pittsburgh, and the Baltimore and Ohio reached Wheeling, amounted to more than $30,000 annually. Coal tonnage grew steadily greater until in 1855 it reached the amazing total of almost 1,000,000 tons, and fifteen years later to twice that amount, this later rapid increase being due to the building in 1856 of two locks above Brownsville, which carried the slack water navigation to within seven miles of the Virginia line. Through passenger traffic reached its climax in 1848 with a total for the year of almost forty-eight thousand souls.

To this latter traffic and classified freight the National Road contributed largely. For from the time it was thrown open to the public in the year 1818 until 1852 it was the one great highway, over which passed the bulk of trade and travel, and the mails between the east and the west. As many as twenty, four horse coaches have been counted in line at one time. During the eight years before the coming of the railroads more than two hundred thousand passengers travelled over the road by way of the Monongahela; almost another one hundred thousand travelled between Brownsville and Pittsburgh and over four hundred and fifty thousand travelled part of the way between these two places. William Henry Harrison as President-elect of the United States, used this route, and his body was returned by the same way. It looked more like the leading avenue of a great city than a road through rural districts. One man in 1848 counted 133 six-horse teams passing along the road in one day, and took no notice of as many more teams of one, two, three, four, and five horses. "It looked as if the whole earth was on the road, wagons, stages, horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, and turkeys being there without number," this man wrote. In the year 1832 six commission houses in Wheeling received approximately five thousand loads of merchandise, and paid nearly $400,000 for its transportation. About two-fifths of this passenger and freight traffic after 1844 when the slack water improvements reached Brownsville, was directed through the Monongahela.

High hopes had earlier been maintained of the benefits to commerce by building dams in the Youghiogheny, one of the chief tributaries of Monongahela. The Youghiogheny Navigation Company was incorporated in 1816. Another company was incorporated in 1841. Another Youghio-

gheny Navigation Company was incorporated in 1843, which by November 7, 1850, has constructed two dams and opened navigation to West Newton, 18 miles from the river's mouth. The terrific force of the turbulent spring freshets soon rendered them permanently useless. The traffic on this river by reason of its uncertain moods was slight. Following a memorial to the legislature in 1845 boats going down the Youghiogheny, not intending to return, were passed without toll through the Monongahela locks. The largest commercial venture on its waters possibly was in 1843 when 13,000 bushels of coke was boated from near Connellsville to Cincinnati.

"If they (the Navigators) can contrive to keep near the middle of the stream, they are hurled onward through white caps and billows, with a frightful degree of safety; otherwise they are doomed to destruction, and frequently to a melancholy loss of life."

Of the classified freight in the commerce of the Monongahela, salt occupied a large place, as immense quantities were brought from the salt works in New York. Whisky, butter, lard, cheese, flour, oats, sand, apples, hoop poles, nails, tobacco, wool, feathers, bacon, pork, staves, brick, ginseng, and beeswax were staple articles of commerce. Pittsburgh continued to be the distributing point. The Monongahela proved to be a valuable feeder to the state canals. Of the 80,000 barrels of flour which came down it in 1851, more than nine-tenths were reshipped eastward by the Pennsylvania canal; and other items in like manner.

It is not to be thought that the improvement of navigation in the Monongahela was secured by the harmonious co-operation of the Valley, or that its practical operation was materially helped by the shippers. "It is a remarkable fact," says the engineer, Sylvanus Lothrop, in his report to the President of the Company, January 4, 1847 that with so many unanswerable arguments to recommend it, and enforce it upon the public attention, no work in the country has ever encountered greater obstacles than this. Instead of being, as it ought to have been fostered by our citizens, and hailed by the inhabitants of the Monongahela Valley as a blessing to themselves, it met with nothing but the most chilling regard from the one, and with either the most violent prejudice, or the most determined hostility from the other." Protests were made against the toll charges, and in 1848 the Valley was aflame with the cry that the locks should be cut down to a height of four and one-half feet, so that in times of freshet the boats might

float, unhindered by locks, to the Ohio. Much difficulty was encountered in securing rapidity of movement through the locks. Rival boat crews fought, in the face of definite regulations, for precedence in passing through the locks. The company early established rules, but in vain. The state legislature (1851) passed special legislation to facilitate passage, and later (1864) made the penalties more severe, yet many times the locks for hours at a time were idle while the fighting crews blocked the entrance, and the prosperity-carrying Ohio "rise" receded below the boating stage.

When the Monongahela River was about to be bridged at Smithfield Street, in Pittsburgh, it was seriously proposed that the bridge be built so low that the boats could not pass under, thus necessitating the transfer of freights, and a profitable business for longshoremen.

Out of such strife and from such humble beginnings arose the mighty traffic which now yearly sweeps down the Monongahela through locks, augmented in number and increased in size, and now owned and operated without charge to the traffic, by the United States Government. No longer does the Ohio wait upon the "rise" of her tributary from the south, but rather is the waiting reversed, until such time as the United States shall have done her "perfect work" for "the beautiful river."

NOTES AND QUERIES

SOLDIERS' PAYROLL AT FORT PITT, FOR JANUARY, 1783

We the subscribers Non Commissioned Officers, Drummers, Fifers and Privates of a detachment from the First Virginia Regiment Stationed at Fort Pitt—do in presence of Major Groghan acknowledge to have received in specie of John Pierce, Esqr., Paymaster General by the hand of John Rose, the several sums annexed to our names, being our pay for the month of January, 1783, for which we have signed duplicate receipts—Fort Pitt July 28th 1783.

Names		Rank	Number of Dolls	cts
James Lane	Qr. Master Sergeant	Sergeant	10	00
Alexander Fraser	Sergeant	"	10	00
John Hull	Sergt	"	10	00
Moses Ward	Sergt	"	10	00
Samuel Crusewell		Corporal	7	30
Edward Shephard		"	7	30
William Jones		"	7	30
Thomas McIlwain	his X mark	Drummer	7	30
John Ingles		Private	6	60
John Robinson	his X mark	"	6	60
David Clarke	his X mark	"	6	60
Jacob Beechar	his X mark	"	6	60
John Cardonas	his X mark	"	6	60
James Stackpole		"	6	60
Isaac Devore	his X mark	"	6	60
Samuel Lemon		"	6	60
Stephen Winters		"	6	60
John Phillips		"	6	60
Johathan Welsh	his X mark	"	6	60
Joseph Fowler		"	6	60
Peter McCartney	his X mark	"	6	60
John Guthry		"	6	60
John Shea	his X mark	"	6	60
John Richardson		"	6	60

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Names		Rank	Number of Dolls	Cents
James Lane	Qr. Master Sergeant		10	00
Alexander Fraser	Sergeant	"	10	00
John Hall	Serjt	"	10	00
Moses Ward	Serjt	"	10	00
Samuel Crosswell		Corporal	7	30
Edward Shepherd		"	7	30
William Jones		"	7	30
Thomas McIlwain	his X mark	Drummer	7	30
John Figles		Private	6	60
John Robinson	his X mark	"	6	60
David Clarke	his X mark	"	6	60
Jacob Beecher	his X mark	"	6	60
John Cardons	his X mark	"	6	60
James Blackgole		"	6	60
Isaac Devore	his X mark	"	6	60
Samuel Lemon		"	6	60
Stephen Winters		"	6	60
John Philips		"	6	60
Johashua Welsh	his X mark	"	6	60
Joseph Fowler		"	6	60
Peter McCartney	his X mark	"	6	60
John Gaultry		"	6	60
John Shea	his X mark	"	6	60
John Richardson		"	6	60

Names		Rank	Number Dolls	of cts
James Parley		Private	6	60
James Becham		"	6	60
James Johnson		"	6	60
James Carr		"	6	60
William Overline	his X mark	"	6	60
John Barnett		"	6	60
William Brasier		"	6	60
William Woods	his X mark	"	6	60
Henry Skinner	his X mark	"	6	60
Clement Gillihan	his X mark	"	6	60
Charles Craford	his X mark	"	6	60
John Burnsides	his X mark	"	6	60
John Woodman	his X mark	"	6	60
John Spear		"	6	60
William Cloyd	his X mark	"	6	60
William Connelly		"	6	60
Michael Murphy	his X mark	"	6	60
Joseph Denison		"	6	60
Joseph Wood		"	6	60
John Rock		"	6	60
Edward Walker		"	6	60
Gilbraith Willison	his X mark	"	6	60
John Bean	his X mark	"	6	60
Thomas Buite	his X mark	"	6	60
Thomas Jones		"	6	60
John Riley		"	6	60
John Booke		"	6	60
Patrick Thornton	his X mark	"	6	60

Names		Rank	Number of Dolls
James Farley		Private	5
James Beckam		"	5
James Johnson		"	5
James Carr		"	5
William Overline	his X mark	"	5
John Barnett		"	5
William Brasler		"	5
William Woods	his X mark	"	5
Henry Skinner	his X mark	"	5
Clement Gillihan	his X mark	"	5
Charles Crafard	his X mark	"	5
John Burridge	his X mark	"	5
John Woodman	his X mark	"	5
John Spear		"	5
William Cloyd	his X mark	"	5
William Connolly		"	5
Michael Murphy	his X mark	"	5
Joseph Hanison		"	5
Joseph Wood		"	5
John Rock		"	5
Edward Walker		"	5
Gilbraith Williams	his X mark	"	5
John Bean	his X mark	"	5
Thomas Baily	his X mark	"	5
Thomas Jones		"	5
John Riley		"	5
John Hooke		"	5
Patrick Thornton	his X mark	"	5

Names		Rank	Number of Dolls	cts
John Hoorish	his X mark	Private	6	60
John Daugherty	his X mark	"	6	60
John Morrison	his X mark	"	6	60
Isaac Hafpenny	his X mark	"	6	60
William Morton	his X mark	"	6	60
William Brunaherna	his X mark	"	6	60
Jacob Adams	his X mark	"	6	60
Samuel McCord	his X mark	"	6	60
Rueben Abett	his X mark	"	6	60
Robert Bacon	his X mark	"	6	60
Charles Morgan	his X mark	"	6	60
Thomas Jackson		"	6	60
			438	80

I hereby certify to have been witness to the payment made to the Non Commissioned Officers & privates of late my company, now annexed to the first Virginia Regiment as specified above.

Benjn Biggs Capt
Virga Line

Fort Pitt August 2nd 1783

REMINISCENCES OF WILLIAM ROBINSON, Jr.

The following reminiscences are from Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania for August 25, 1832. They are taken from an address delivered by Mr. Robinson at a banquet given in Pittsburgh shortly before that date in honor of the Hon. William Wilkins. Mr. Robinson was then in the forty-seventh year of his age.

"It is distinctly, gentlemen, within my own recollection, and I am yet a young man, when Pittsburgh was a frontier village. On the opposite bank of the Allegheny, where now rises the flourishing town to which so kind a reference has been made, there stood but one solitary cabin, in the vast forest between it and the shores of

Name		Rank	Number of Dolls	
John Hewitah	his X mark	Private	6	60
John Daugherty	his X mark	"	6	60
John Morrison	his X mark	"	6	60
Isaac Harpenny	his X mark	"	6	60
William Sketon	his X mark	"	6	60
William Brunkhenrax	his X mark	"	6	60
Jacob Adams	his X mark	"	6	60
Samuel McCord	his X mark	"	6	60
Reuben Abett	his X mark	"	6	60
Robert Bacon	his X mark	"	6	60
Charles Morgan	his X mark	"	6	60
Thomas Jackson		"	6	60
			138	60

I hereby certify to have been witness to the previous marks to the Non Commissioned Officers & privates of late my company, now annexed to the first Virginia Regiment as specified above.

Fort Pitt August 2nd 1763

Bertie Hugo Capt
Virginia Line

REMINISCENCES OF WILLIAM ROBINSON, Jr.

The following reminiscences are from Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania for August 22, 1829. They are taken from an address delivered by Mr. Robinson at a banquet given in Pittsburg to Gen. Scott before that date in honor of the 4th. William Wilkins, Mr. Robinson was then in the forty-seventh year of his age.

"It is distinctly, vividly seen, within my own recollection, and I was yet a young man, when Pittsburgh was a frontier village. On the unpaved bank of the Allegheny, where now rise the thoroughfare town to which so kind a reference has been made, there stood, then, one solitary cabin, in the vast forest between it and the shores of

Lake Erie, not one habitation for civilized man intervened; one single family comprised the whole population in all that distance, and a little canoe sufficed for their conveyance to this shore, either on business, or as more than once happened, for protection from the Indians. From the very places whence now arises on yonder shore the busy hum of men, the music of the steam engine, and the loud reverberating sound of the forge hammer, your humble narrator in the morning of his days has listened with fearful apprehension to the shrill and appalling sound of the Indian's whistle, at night fall on his charger. Behold the contrast; observe the unexampled change which has taken place. Instead of the fragile bark, a magnificent bridge bestrides the stern and rapid current of the Allegheny, connecting a village of many thousand souls with this its parent city. Above, a stupendous aqueduct bears on its Herculean shoulders another river to the bosom of your city."

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

56—Piece of Oak and Spikes

from Commodore Oliver Perry's ship "Niagara," sunk during the Battle of Lake Erie, September 1813. Raised March 1913.

Presented by General Albert J. Logan

57—Deed

The United States to Rees Jones, Signed by
James Madison, President
James Monroe, Secretary of State,
to which is attached
The Great Seal of State
Dated March 30th 1816.

Upon this property was erected a portion of
"FORT FAYETTE."

It was purchased by the government from John Penn and John Penn, Jr., great-grandsons of William Penn the original proprietor.

The fort was built by order of General Knox, Secretary of War, under President Washington, dated December 16th, 1791, and was intended to protect the town of Pittsburgh, and military-stores forwarded from time to time.

Two facts seem to have occasioned its erection, one, Fort Pitt had been demolished in October of that year, being thought no longer necessary against encroachments of Indians, the other, on November 4th, following the defeat of General Arthur St. Clair by the Miami Indians. It stood on rising ground 100 yards from the Allegheny river, and one-fourth of a mile from the site of Fort Pitt. It was completed and occupied May 1st, 1792 by a detachment of troops under Captain Hughes. A month later General Anthony Wayne arrived with troops with which in 1794 he signally defeated the Indians at Fallen Timbers in the North Western Territory. While here a portion of his command was garrisoned in the fort. In 1794, during the Whisky Insurrection the insurgents talked of getting possession of the fort—its arms and ammunition, but Major Thomas Bates in command was fully prepared for its defence, and later when they sent word that they would march peacably by the fort into Pittsburgh, across the Monongahela and go to their homes, he replied that their peaceable intentions would be best shown by passing at a proper distance; they took another route. After The Battle of Lake Erie, September 10th, 1813, the naval officers and men captured by Commodore Oliver H. Perry, were imprisoned in this Fort,

On the site of the southwest bastion of the fort, in 1884 there was erected the house in which is conducted the business of its owner, William G. Johnston.

Loaned by Mr. Stewart Johnston.

58—Gun

used by "Christopher Gist" who was Colonel George Washingtons guide during his expedition on the Monongahela.

Loaned by Mr. T. M. Walker.

59—Ledger

of John and Peter Chevalier of Philadelphia, dated April 6th, 1770—November 20th, 1782.

Presented by Captain Robert M. Ewing.

60—Photograph

of a frame building corner of Fourth Avenue and Ross Street the sole survivor of the great fire of April 1st, 1845. For many years it stood alone, but during the progress of time was improved outwardly more or less. In June 1918, the building raised, and is now known as "Hotel Green."

Presented by Mr. John S. Ritenour.

61—Old Knife

found on the site of Fort Duquesne.

"The Thomas Rankin Collection."

62—Agreement

of lease between Nancy Fitz Charles, of Allegheny County, State of Pennsylvania, and Casper Reel, of Pine Township, and aforesaid County and State, made April the 10th, 1797.

Presented by Mrs. R. A. McKee.

63—Journal

of my journey over the mountains, by "George Washington" while surveying for Lord Thomas Fairfax, (Baron of Cameron,) in the northern neck of Virginia, beyond the Blue-Ridge, in 1747—1748.

Presented by Mr. Wm. M. Hall.

64—Docket

of Squire Gazzam, of Pittsburgh, years 1803—1804.

Presented by Mr. Charles A. Weber.

65—Letter of William Denny

to Colonel James Burd, who was in commanad at Fort Augusta, dated April the 6th, 1757.

Presented by Burd Shippen Patterson.

66—Pistol

taken from a Mexican Major, during the Mexican War, by Captain John Hague.

Presented by Mr. T. M. Walker.

67—Ring

made from the screw of a Confederate shell, which struck the flagstaff of the 140th, regimental flag at the battle of Weldon, Railroad, Virginia, August 1864.

Presented by Miss Alice Lothrop.

68—Mauser Rifle

used by an American during the Spanish-American War.

Presented by Dr. John L. Phillips.

69—A Gavel

used for several years by the "Girls Myrsine Club," of old Barclay Hall Allegheny. Head made of Rosewood taken from original vase at door of room in Independence Hall, in which the Declaration of Independence was read and adopted—handle cherrywood from beam of old Lafayette Hall, Wood street, birthplace of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh in 1856.

Presented by Mrs. Theodocia B. Wynn.

70—Letter of General Anthony Wayne

to Major General H. Knox, dated Legionville, 22nd March 1793.

Loaned by Mrs. Joseph Bardsley.

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Presented by Brig. Gen. Stephen Fitzpatrick.

66—Pistol

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Presented by Mr. T. M. Walker.

67—Ring

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Presented by Miss Alice Latimer.

68—Mauser Rifle

used by an American during the Spanish-American War.

Presented by Dr. John L. Pershing.

69—A Gavel

used for several years by the "Civic Service Club" of old Barclay Hall Allegheny. Head made of Kennedy Lodge from original vase at door of room in Independence Hall, in which the Declaration of Independence was read and adopted—handle cherrywood from beam of old Lazarette Mill, West street, birthplace of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh in 1856.

Presented by Mrs. Theodore D. Wren.

70—Letter of General Anthony Wayne

to Major General H. Knox, dated Legionville, 22nd March 1793.

Loaned by Mrs. Joseph Barclay.

71—Photograph

of the "Bonnie Scotch Booth," taken at the Sanitary Fair held in Allegheny City in 1864 for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission Work.

Presented by Judge Charles F. McKenna.

72—Minute-book

of the "Harper Zouaves" a company organized for home-defense in May 1861, of which Mr. George K. Stevenson was Quartermaster, Sergeant and Secretary.

Presented by Messrs. W. H. and J. B. Stevenson.

73—Newspaper

The first copy of the Philadelphia Public Ledger, published March 25th, 1836.

Presented by Mrs. William LeRoy Shanor

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 2, No. 3. JULY, 1919. Price, 40 Cents.

CELEBRATION OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INCORPORATION OF PITTSBURGH AS A BOROUGH.

On Tuesday, April 22, 1919, the one hundred and twenty-fifth aniversary of the incorporation of Pittsburgh as a borough was commemorated under the auspices of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. This being also the centennial year of the incorporation of the Western University of Pennsylvania, now the University of Pittsburgh, the Historical Society undertook to combine an observance of this event with that of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization of Pittsburgh's first government.

The affair took place in the hall of the society's building on Bigelow Boulevard, and a large and representative audience was present. William H. Stevenson, the president of the Historical Society, presided. E. V. Babcock, the mayor of the city, had promised to be in attendance and take part in the proceedings, but owing to his recent illness was unable to come. To represent him he sent Harold M. Irons, Esq., one of the assistant city solicitors. The members of the city council had also been invited, but on account of the expected arrival in New York of the Fifteenth Regiment of United States Engineers from France, in the ranks of which were many young Pittsburghers, the councilmen felt it to be their first duty to go to that city and help wel-

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come the veterans to their native land. The Chamber of Commerce sent Thomas A. Dunn, one of its leading members. The speakers were Charles W. Dahlinger, Esq., Dr. Samuel B. McCormick, chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh, Harold M. Irons, Esq., Dr. J. H. Webster of the University of Pittsburgh, and Thomas A. Dunn. At the conclusion of the meeting President Stevenson read the following letter from George P. Donehoo, the secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission.

"I have received an invitation to the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the granting of a borough charter to Pittsburgh and of the centennial of the chartering of the Western University of Pennsylvania.

"I am more than sorry that I cannot be present at this celebration. I entered the Western University Preparatory Department in the fall of 1876 and graduated in 1883. I thus took my entire educational course at the Western University. We had in our class of '83 such men as Ethelbert Nevin, Friend W. Jenkins, Burr McIntosh, Vance Thompson, W. C. Coffin, C. W. Scovel, Edward Woods, and a lot of others who have since made a name for the "old W. U. P." The only professor now living, so far as I am aware, who was in the University when I entered is Prof. F. C. Phillips. Dr. Woods, Forner, "Rory" Tucker, Coffin, Ludden, DeSchweinitz and all of the others have "gone West," after a most glorious struggle with the Hunnish lack of kultur of the young barbarians who used to gather at the corner of Ross and Diamond streets. Those were great days. I can still hear the voice of Captain Osgood, the military professor, as he issued the command "Fall in," and then as he looked at the ragged line, which had fallen in, "Oh, brace up. Stand up like men." In later years the most of them stood up like men, and some of them have fallen like men. I bow my head and drink a silent toast to the great company of the Drill Hall days, which has gone over the long, long trail into what is still the 'Land of My Dreams.'"

The addresses follow:

ADDRESS OF CHARLES W. DAHLINGER.

The Americans are charged with being materialists; they are said to be money-mad. Yet they are the most idealistic people in the world. What other nation would have entered the great European war as this country did, simply because it was believed here that injustice was being done the countries attacked? Like all idealistic people, the

Americans love to contemplate their past. This is not done from a desire for self-glorification, but to honor the memories of the men who were responsible for making the United States the most respected country in the world. That is why they celebrate the anniversaries of past events, beginning with the centennial of the battles of Lexington and Concord Bridge where

"The embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world."

It is this spirit that has caused us to meet here this evening and fittingly observe the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the day when Pittsburgh ceased to be a part of Pitt Township, and entered upon a separate existence.

The last decade of the eighteenth century was a period of ferment. The leaven produced by the American Revolution had created a feeling of independence wherever the news of the successful war of liberation had penetrated. In France it brought about the great revolution, which, fraught though it was with cruelties, demonstrated to the world that the will of the people is supreme above that of kings and princes. In England itself a great moral awakening took place. The English people rose up in arms against the alleged crimes and cruelties of Warren Hastings in India. England had introduced slavery into her American colonies, and her merchants amassed great wealth in the slave trade. Now she first prohibited the slave trade, and later abolished slavery in her dominions.

In the United States a decided forward movement began. The loosely organized confederacy of states was knitted together by a constitution. The mails were carried only between certain points and in a few of the states, it being a state matter. The constitution conferred upon Congress the exclusive control of postal affairs, and in 1792 a law was enacted providing for the organization of a post office department whereby the national government undertook to carry the mails over the entire country. More newspapers were established, as were periodicals, which made some pretense to the possession of literary merit. Manufacturing was introduced in communities where before there had been nothing but trade and commerce.

Congress had enacted the first tariff law in 1789; and in 1791 Alexander Hamilton gave out his great report on manufactures, which resulted the next year in the passage by Congress of a tariff law affording protection to America's infant industries against foreign competition.

The people were prospering as they had never pros-

pered before. Money had never been so abundant. A great era of internal improvements burst upon the country. There were demands for turnpikes, for bridges, for canals. The sailing ships were crowded with emigrants from Germany and Ireland, most of whom were destined for the new lands of the west and southwest. The tide of emigration was rolling westward in ever increasing waves, although danger and death met the emigrants almost at every step. The Indians persisted in claiming that north of the Ohio River was Indian territory. Among the boatmen who navigated the stream the northerly bank of the river was known as "the Indian side of the Ohio." Expedition after expedition was fitted out and sent into the heart of the Indian country to subdue the savages, but met with no success. In 1790 General Josiah Harmar was repulsed on the Scioto River. The next year General Arthur St. Clair met with defeat on the Maumee River. Yet the territory along the banks of the Ohio was rapidly being cleared. Each year brought hundreds of settlers, whom neither wars nor massacres could keep out. Each year new towns sprang up and new farmsteads were opened. The population of Kentucky had become so numerous, that in 1792 it was separated from Virginia and became a state.

For a score of years Pittsburgh had been the western outpost of American civilization. Many times there were Indian alarms. As late as March, 1791, a number of persons were killed and several taken prisoner in the vicinity of the village. A town meeting held in consequence demanded of Major Isaac Craig, the United States Quartermaster, the loan of one hundred muskets with bayonets and cartouch boxes, to arm the people of the town in defense of the neighborhood, threatening to take the arms by force if their request was denied. The weapons were promptly delivered.

Pittsburgh was a settlement of traders and tavern-keepers, the entertainment of travelers employing almost as many persons as the stores, which were numerous and of considerable importance. Here the settlers from the East whose destination was westward of the village, stopped and refitted for the farther journey. If they intended to go down the rivers, they purchased boats or made arrangements for their passage, bought powder and ball and supplies for the journey, and went on their dangerous way. And there was great danger from the Indians. When in 1793, there was established on the Ohio River a packet line to run from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati, the boats were

made bullet-proof, and were armed with small cannon carrying pound balls; and muskets and ammunition were provided, and from convenient portholes passengers and crew could fire on the enemy.

More people stayed in Pittsburgh, more stores were opened. Manufacturing in a small way was commenced; a newspaper was established. Bituminous coal of the best quality which had been discovered in the hill on the opposite side of the Monongahela River from the town was the pole-star which lighted the way to their establishment. A writer who saw the advantages of Pittsburgh with the eyes of a Munchausen, writing of the value of its coal, declared, that the blaze afforded "so strong a light, that in winter,—neither tailors nor other mechanics burn candles."

Since early in 1792 the inhabitants of Pittsburgh had seen the vast preparations being made for breaking the power of the Indians. Men and supplies had come through the village in such numbers and amounts as had never been seen there before. The training of the army was more intensive than was yet known, and the commander was General Wayne, the "Mad Anthony" of the Revolution, whose fame had so gained in magnitude that now it was of almost mythical proportions. The people felt that this expedition could not fail and that thereafter Pittsburgh would be forever freed from the Indian peril. It was believed that Wayne's victory would cause a hegira from the East to the Ohio country; that Pittsburgh must be prepared to meet every demand that would be made upon it when the Eastern swarms came through. The village was part of Pitt Township and was governed by the crude township laws, intended only for agricultural and wild lands. If the place were a borough it would possess the functions necessary to meet every contingency, and promote its further progress. Also another reason existed for the desire to separate from Pitt Township. In Pitt Township, outside of Pittsburgh, as well as in all the rural districts about the village, the people had risen in rebellion against the government on account of the impost on whisky which was largely made in that territory, and to this sentiment the people of Pittsburg were strongly antagonistic. So by virtue of an Act of the General Assembly of April 22, 1794, Pittsburgh became a borough.

The government which the people of Pittsburgh selected was as nearly democratic as it was possible to secure for an eighteenth century community. They had been accustomed almost from the beginning to hold town meetings in which all the public questions were discussed. This mode

of governing the borough was now embodied in its charter. All the power rested directly in the hands of the people. It was modeled after the town meeting governments of New England. The legislative acts were performed at the town meetings, which were called by the burgesses, the high constable and his assistants. The meetings were held in the court house, a two-story log building owned by Andrew Watson and situated on Front Street, now First Avenue, two doors east of Market Street. All the male adults who had resided in the place for a year had the right to participate in the meetings and they generally exercised this privilege; and a majority vote of those present prevailed.

What a contrast is presented between the Pittsburgh of today and the frontier village of a century and a quarter ago! When the place became a borough, little remained of its former military importance. The picture which Louis Brantz painted of the village in 1790 was no longer accurate. Fort Pitt had stood on the site now occupied by the Pennsylvania Railroad Freight Station on Liberty Avenue, faced the Monongahela River and extended back across Penn Avenue. In 1794 all that was left was a portion of the officers' quarters, and a substantial brick building used as a malt house. The gates were gone, and the brick wall called the revetment which supported two of the ramparts facing the town, and against which the officers and soldiers were wont to play ball, had also disappeared. In contradiction of the peaceful character of the environs of Pittsburgh, implied by the abandonment of Fort Pitt, was Fort Fayette, standing on the easterly side of Hand Street, now Ninth Street, three hundred feet back from the Allegheny River. It had been completed less than two years and with its stockade and blockhouses and frowning cannon strongly indicated that the borough was still surrounded by hostile savages.

The original village was a collection of log huts clustered within the shadows of Fort Pitt. It consisted of four blocks and was bounded by Water Street, Second Street, now Second Avenue, Market and Ferry Streets, and was intersected by Chancery Lane. In 1794 these squares were compactly built upon. In other parts of the village the houses were sparse, and cultivated grounds intervened. Out of two hundred houses in the borough, one hundred and fifty were built of logs, mostly rough-hewn logs, only an occasional house being of sawed logs. The others were frame with a few of brick or stone. Lombardy poplars and weeping willows grew along the streets.

There were taverns on almost every street. They were known by their signs rather than by the names of the owners. The sign was hung either on the front of the house or on a board attached to a wooden or iron arm projecting from the building, or from a post standing before it. On Water Street there was the sign of the "Whale and the Monkey" to which was added the doggerel:

"Here the weary may rest
The hungry feed,
And those who thirst,
May quaff the best."

There was the sign of "General Washington," the sign of the "Waggon," the sign of the "Green Tree," the sign of the "Indian Queen," the sign of the "Black Bear." The sign of the "Cross Keys" was the arms of the Papal See, although the proprietor was a Presbyterian. The sign of "General Butler," named for General Richard Butler, a noted citizen of Pittsburgh who met a glorious death in St. Clair's defeat, was situated on Market Street and was the most famous tavern in the town.

Everday life was more picturesque than it is today. The emigrants who came overland entered the town with their pack horses and wagons either over the Braddocksfield Road, later called the Fourth Street Road, and proceeded down Fourth Street, now Fourth Avenue, or they came along the road leading from Bedford, Ligonier and Hannastown, which entered Pittsburgh over what was afterward known as the Greensburg and Pittsburgh Turnpike, and connected with Liberty Street, now Liberty Avenue. Another road ran along the south side of the Monongahela River The travelers on this road came into the borough on one or other of the ferries which had been established on the stream. The northerly bank of the river was lined with boats of all descriptions, arks, Kentucky boats, keel boats and barges; on the Allegheny were also many boats. Not a street was paved, and in wet weather the mud was ground into mire and many a wagon sank into the wet earth to its hubs. In front of the taverns and along the streets, and on the vacant grounds were the wagons and horses of emigrants; here and there emigrants were camped and fires were burning, on which the meals of the campers were being cooked.

Market street was the leading thoroughfare and was crowded with horses and wagons, and people in all kinds of dress; the merchants and professional men were distinguished by their cocked hats, cues, and knee-breeches; the emigrants, the farmers and mechanics by clothes of no par-

ticular pattern, made of linsey. A few Indians with blankets over their shouders, who eked out a scanty living by selling fish and game in the town, mingled with the white men. The children of the emigrants romped along the streets, happy to be away from the restraints of the journey.

Some of the citizens of Pittsburgh had come with General Forbes when he drove out the French. A number were old Indian traders who had been in the Indian country for many years; a few were lawyers; John Scull was the editor of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. There were the storekeepers who had come in recent years, and butchers and bakers and tailors and dealers in small wares, and the mechanics who had been drawn to this new Eldorado, by the glowing accounts of the prosperity to be found there. All the latter were young and energetic and ambitious for material success, and they realized that to reach their goal they must make the town in which they were living prosperous and great.

The town meeting government was an experiment. That which suited a small community was no longer applicable to a much larger population. The five or six hundred inhabitants of 1794, when the male adults having a right to participate in the town meetings numbered perhaps less than one hundred, had increased in 1800 to 1,565, and the male adults to about three hundred. The population was still growing, and on March 5, 1804, the citizens procured the enactment of a law superseding the town meeting government by one in which the legislative acts of the borough were performed by a town council elected by the people.

The men who organized and conducted the first borough government of Pittsburgh, and later carried on the government controlled by the town council, were men to whom this generation owes a debt of gratitude. Founding a city is much like establishing a business enterprise. It is the men who conduct its affairs in the beginning who experience the most trouble and deserve the greatest amount of praise. The affairs of a municipality are or should be managed exactly as is a private business. Some of you have no doubt helped to establish a business, and can recall the worries and heartaches of the early years. The men conducting the affairs of the pioneer communities had not only these troubles to contend with, but they had in addition, the fear of personal danger constantly before their eyes.

It is true that these men were politicians. Among them was James Ross, who was a United States senator and later was several times a candidate for governor of the

state; Judge Alexander Addison was the president judge of the judicial district to which Allegheny County belonged; General John Woods was a prominent lawyer; acting with them was John Scull. Others were Colonel James O'Hara, the leading business man of the town. Of former Revolutionary officers there were General John Neville, his son, Colonel Presley Neville, Major Isaac Craig, Major Ebenezer Denny and Doctor George Stevenson. They all belonged to the Federal party and generally carried the elections of Pittsburgh against the Republican opposition. But there were also some to whom credit is due for the founding of the Pittsburgh government, who were not Federalists, and no one deserves it more than Hugh Henry Brackenridge, the leading lawyer of the place, a writer of no mean ability, the author of "Modern Chivalry," the first work of its kind published in the United States, which ran through at least a half dozen editions. Later Mr. Brackenridge became a judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

The founders of the borough of Pittsburgh were far-seeing men; and they built up the industries of the village. They organized churches and schools; they provided for higher education and established an academy, which is now one of the great universities of the United States. With the tide of western immigration still pouring through the place they could not fail to prosper. They so governed the borough that more people were attracted to it, and more industries were established. They saw the necessity for additional governmental powers and procured the passage of a law incorporating Pittsburgh into a city. Since the swaddling clothes of infancy were cast aside and Pittsburgh became a borough, it has worn many styles of dress. Each new gown bore some resemblance to the apparel which the village put on in 1804. Pittsburgh has often been reviled. Its rise in industry and commerce was so unprecedented that envy's slanderous tongue became busy, and every false step in its public or private life was heralded abroad as the prevailing trait of all its citizens. Yet it has always gone forward in culture and refinement, no less than in wealth. All that it has been and much that it is destined to be can be traced to the ground work laid by those early leaders. The history and progress of the place is a continual reminder of the shrewdness and foresight of the men who fought the Indians and talked and acted in the town meetings of the borough of Pittsburgh. The greatest iron and steel center in the world is their monument. All honor to the pioneers!

ADDRESS OF CHANCELLOR M'CORMICK.

It would require a vivid imagination to paint the picture of the little village of Pittsburgh as it was in 1794, the year the frontier village became a borough. It was seven years earlier that the first charter granted west of the mountains created the Pittsburgh Academy. The same year other charters were given, chiefly to churches, such as the German Evangelical and the First Presbyterian. At that time the population did not exceed two hundred and fifty, but in 1794 was considerably larger.

Just now we are coming to anniversaries of all kinds. The first hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary was that of the Evangelical Church referred to a moment ago, then that of the University, then that of the Masonic Lodge No. 45. On last Sabbath the East Liberty Presbyterian Church concluded the hundredth anniversary of its organization. It must have been a very beautiful village which nestled in the valley through which passed the Pittsburgh-Philadelphia Highway, teeming with coaches and its wagons of burden. In June the University of Pittsburgh will celebrate the hundreth anniversary of its present charter. Whatever the size of the village in 1794, the character of the people whom one writer described as typical frontiersmen without education, without religion and who died without benefit of clergy, certainly by 1819 the community had grown both in size, in religion, in education and in refinement. The first faculty of the University were all clergymen, Bruce and McElroy representing the constituents which afterward became the United Presbyterian Church, Black, the eminent Covenanter, whose descendants are still prominent citizens of Pittsburgh, Swift, first pastor of the Presbyterian Church on the North Side, and Father Maguire, first priest of what is now the St. Paul's Cathedral, could not have been formed unless the then newly incorporated city had attracted to it in considerable numbers men of fine culture and of University training.

All in all it is fitting that the Historical Society should celebrate this hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary. It does us good to turn our minds back to the beginning of things. Whatever may be the record, the fact is that Pittsburgh was settled by two sturdy peoples—the Pennsylvania German and the Scotch-Irishman. The impress these two races put upon Pittsburgh remains until this day and will remain as long as Pittsburgh continues to be, no matter how many alien populations come in, and no matter how

many years pass by. The same is true of the Commonwealth, settled by the Friend, the Pennsylvania German and the Ulster-Scotch, so that Pennsylvania will be for all time, by reason of its first settlers, different from all other commonwealths of the Union and best of them all because of the solid, substantial, sterling qualities of the men and women who first settled its valleys and builded its towns and cities. Pittsburgh will never become like Boston, or New York, or Chicago, or San Francisco. It will remain Pittsburgh to the end of the charter, a city of earnest, conscientious, individualistic citizens, who attend to their own business and who discharge their obligations with honesty and with fidelity.

It is good, therefore, that we have come together tonight to revive the memories of the past and to receive inspiration for the future.

ADDRESS OF HAROLD M. IRONS.

I am ambassador extraordinary tonight representing His Honor, Mayor E. V. Babcock, who cannot be with you as he had anticipated. The Mayor desired me to say that he is in hearty accord with everything connected with the history of Pittsburgh, and is desirous of the welfare and the growth of this Society.

He, like every other Pittsburgher, realizes that the historian's pen should record the wonderful achievements of this city and community.

There is an eloquence in the memories connected with Pittsburgh because by their fulfillment they prophesy what will come to pass in the future. There is a sanctity in the past because of the chronicles it contains.

The stream of historical events and achievements starting at the beginning of this nation and running down to the present in relation to Pittsburgh, is indeed a glorious record.

This, at one time, was the home of the Indian, but his wigwam has given place to beautiful homes and palatial mansions. His barbarism has been supplanted by the culture and refinement of a wonderful people.

At the forks of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, at the head of the Ohio, the French and English contended for the supremacy of this nation, and the Lillies of France went down before the Lion of St. George.

The record of the early history of the city of Pittsburgh and the surrounding community reads like a romance and

it is the proud heritage of the citizenship of today.

Pennsylvania is indeed the Keystone State of the Union, because around the declaration of William Penn "that law should reign and the people should be a party to the law" the constitution of the United States was written, which guaranteed similar rights to all the states of the union.

In peace and in war, the City of Pittsburgh has had no equal for wonderful achievements in the progress of man. Far and wide, the bustle and hustle of its people are known. The strenuousness of its life is an inspiration to the rest of the world. In mills, factories, shops and banks possibly no section of equal size surpasses us.

God was good to the people of this community for we are wealthy in mines of coal, pools of oil, pockets of gas, rails of steel, plates of glass, and blocks and sheets of armor. In the production of the things that won the great world war, Pittsburgh is the admiration of the United States. Its plants give work to thousands and bring a fair share of the dollars of the world to the doors of our homes, making at least some of the people fat with worldly goods.

This is beautifully expressed in a poem written by a Pittsburgher:

"I am monarch of all the forges,
I have solved the riddle of fire
The amen of nature and the good of man
Cometh at my desire.
I search with the subtle soul of flame
The heart of the hidden earth
And from under my hammers the prophecies of
The miracle years go forth.
I am swart with the soot of chimneys
I drip with the sweat of toil,
I quell and quench the savage wastes
And I charm the curse from the soil,
I fling the bridges across the gulfs
That separate us from the to be
And I build the roads of the bannered hosts
Of crowned humanity."

The passing years have added achievement after achievement to our history and the truth of this poem is being exemplified in our everyday life.

The tonnage passing through Pittsburgh annually is more than twice the combined tonnage of New York, London, Hamburg and Marseilles.

This is a celebration tonight of the development of

Pittsburgh's mind and soul. There are few communities that possess such educational advantages and that have educational conditions better organized. In the number of schools of various types, in the skill and efficiency of the teaching force, in the methods used, in the attainments wrought by the faculties of the higher institutions of learning and in the character and range of work accomplished, the city of Pittsburgh challenges comparison with other great educational centers. Here, indeed, the mind of the child can inhale the nurturing dews of instruction and ripen physically and intellectually into a life of usefulness.

The University of Pittsburgh, which is also celebrating its anniversary tonight is one of the highest and best institutions of its kind in the world.

In the Carnegie School of Technology science unlocks the door of mystery and reveals the beautiful and the true; here there are thousands of students.

Six great Carnegie Libraries are located at convenient places throughout the community. Our advantages in this respect are unusual. Indeed, it would be difficult to find any other community better provided with library facilities.

Our institutions of learning stand back of our mills and factories. Every mill, shop and factory began with an idea. By thought, that idea developed into a plant, and thus, through mind directed effort, thought was turned into actuality with physical form and beauty.

The thinker of this community sows the seed and the worker brings forth the harvest. Thus the schools which train the thinker pave the way for superiority in material things. Back of the ponderous brawn and back of the workshop's products, the seeker may find the thought. The thought is master of the iron and steel.

The brain standing back of the brawn made Pittsburgh a winning factor in bringing victory to the Allies and peace to the world.

We are justly proud, and the members of this organization who give their time and their efforts to writing the annals and in preserving the history of Pittsburgh are doing a wonderful work for the present and a glorious work for the future.

Our best product is found in organizations of this kind, composed of our noblest manhood and womanhood, who pour out their lives in this wonderful work. The work of this organization should be upheld by every citizen of Pittsburgh.

The state of Pennsylvania should give of its great wealth in order that future generations may know what has

gone on in the past and what is going on at present. The consecrated history of yesterday is the social and spiritual heritage of today, and what we are now weaving on the loom of time will become the garment of glory, not only for the present but for the future.

ADDRESS OF THOMAS A. DUNN.

It affords me much pleasure to have the honor to say a few words at the meeting of the Historical Society. While not posing as an historian, I feel very much like the old residenter who said, "He was in accord with the movement, but glad he was not around at the time it occurred."

Chairman Stevenson mentioned that I would represent the "Irish element" that helped to make up the great history of Western Pennsylvania. Well, I will acknowledge that "honor," and as a representative and a director of the Chamber of Commerce of our city I desire to state that this community has the largest civic body in the world, and I am fully aware that I am taking in some large territory when I make such assertions, as over fifty-five hundred members are attached to the Chamber of Commerce of this city. Its great progressive work for the war years has been of much value to the community and to our government in "this struggle of right against might." No greater history can be written than the patriotic work done by the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh.

Looking over its officers, directors and members, you will find what is the backbone of all that is for the betterment of our great city of Pittsburgh.

On a recent visit to our sister city on the lakes, Cleveland, I was asked by a native if old Pittsburgh was not slipping back, and I answered, "that Pittsburgh could do some slipping, and then be so far ahead of Cleveland that the comparison would not look good in print," telling him that the assessed value of our city was equal to seventeen states in the Union and our county's assessed value equalled thirty-three states in the Union, and that our revenue district—the 23rd—ranked second in the United States, and that we paid to the collector ending June 30, 1918, an amount in money greater than any district, except New York, in this country.

You Pittsburghers must always remember that the history of 1917, 1918 and 1919 when written will place our city where it belongs "in the first rank of all cities in this great country of ours."

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You Pittsburghers must always remember that the history of 1917, 1918 and 1919 when written will place our city where it belongs "in the first rank of all cities in this great country of ours."

And when posterity looks into the world's glass of 1919 no more patriotic country-loving heroic sons and daughters in this country's trying days will be found than on the roster of the lives of old Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania.

ADDRESS OF DR. H. J. WEBSTER.

Dr. Webster prefaced his address by stating that Chancellor McCormick had suddenly called upon him to say something about the old University; that the notice was so short that he was not given an opportunity to go into the subject at length, and that, therefore, he would be compelled to confine his remarks to one phase of the history of the institution. Accordingly he would dwell on the University of a single generation, when it was located in the three-story brick building at the corner of Ross and Diamond streets. He called attention to the pamphlet on this subject written a few years ago by Dr. Francis C. Phillips, who was then one of the faculty and is still Professor Emeritus of Chemistry. To this pamphlet he was indebted for his information. The building had been erected in 1855 and the first and second floors divided into twelve college class rooms, while on the third floor were the assembly room and the preparatory department. In 1877 the third floor was taken over for college classes, and a museum and an annex were erected for the preparatory school. For a campus, the college had a yard paved with brick and for adjoining neighbors it had a church, a public school, the county jail and a soap factory. Three courses of study were offered: the Classical, Scientific and Engineering. The faculty consisted of ten members and there were no assistants or instructors before 1881. Of the faculty, some deserved special mention.

Dr. George Woods was the chancellor from 1858 to 1880, when he resigned and was succeeded in 1881 by Dr. Henry M. McCracken, who in turn resigned in 1884 to become president of New York University, which position he continued to hold until his recent death. He was succeeded as chancellor by Milton B. Goff, who held the chair of mathematics in the University.

The Professor of Astronomy and Director of the Observatory was Samuel P. Langley whose famous experiments formed the first step in aerial navigation. These experiments were completed after his removal to Washington where he became Director of the Smithsonian Institute.

Professor Langley often expressed his obligations to the generous financial encouragement given by William Thaw, without which his researches would have been impossible. The late Registrar, Dr. A. E. Frost, was an assistant to Professor S. P. Langley. To the Professor of Chemistry, John W. Langley, is due the credit of introducing in the seventies the first laboratory course into the University. Dr. Phillips took charge of these courses in 1875.

Co-education was a thing of the future for the University. Faculty meetings were held every week and examinations every quarter. Chapel exercises on Wednesday mornings were the occasion of addresses by eminent citizens. There were few student activities in the present sense of that term. There were two fairly active literary societies and the students published *The College Journal,* later entitled the *Pennsylvania Western.*

Before the removal to Allegheny in 1883, the only professional schools of the University were the Law School, opened in 1872, and the School of Pharmacy, opened in 1878, with an enrollment of forty-four students the first session. In the spring of 1883 the Allegheny County Court House was destroyed by fire and the County Commissioners induced the trustees of the University to sell the college building for a temporary court house for $80,000. Then the University was removed to Allegheny where it was housed in the buildings of the United Presbyterian Seminary and the Reformed Presbyterian Seminary, both on North Avenue. Here it remained as a tenant for six years when it was taken to the new buildings erected for it on Obesrvatory Hill in 1889. It continued in this location until 1908 when it was transferred to the Schenley Farms district and its name changed from the Western University of Pennsylvania to the University of Pittsburgh.

PITTSBURGH AUTHORS.

By Professor Horace R. Thayer.*

Our education—or to speak more simply—what we know, comes to us in three ways; by experience, by listening, and by reading and study. However, when we examine these, we are at once struck by the fact that the first two would have little value were it not for the last. Limited indeed is the education which we might acquire from an illiterate person. Think, too, of the sciences which enter into our daily life which have developed as a result of the researches of our educated chemists and engineers, each adding his mite to the writings. With the best of written matter at our disposal, it takes fifteen to twenty years study of condensed information to fit the young man for the practice of his profession, conveying to him in that time the knowledge gained slowly in the bygone centuries.

Were there no histories, our knowledge of the past would be quite fragmentary and inaccurate. If medical books did not exist, physicians would still be limited to the few simple remedies of our ancestors instead of being on the threshold of still greater discoveries. If we lacked technical books, our engineers would be mere foremen. The conveniences of today—the locomotive, the steamboat, the electric car, electric lights, the telephone, the telegraph, the automobile, the aeroplane, and many others—would never have existed. At the very best we should be what our forefathers were a hundred years ago. And thus we find that literature in its various forms plays an essential part in our modern civilization. Each author has taken advantage of previously acquired knowledge and added that obtained by his own researches, investigations and experience. In this way the sum total of human knowledge has constantly increased.

History and historical researches are something more than a mere recreation to me. Human nature has not changed very much with the lapse of time and the clay tablets of five thousand years ago, unearthed on the Assyrian plains, show man and woman very much like ourselves. And history, the recorded actions of men, repeats itself for just this reason.

Perhaps the Historical Society will allow the expression of an opinion gleaned from a study of Pittsburgh's past.

*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on January 28, 1919.

Conditions in this district have been distinctively opposed to literary growth; and also the mention of a hope, perhaps a belief, that better times are coming, possibly are already here, when literature will be as popular in this community as music, art, science, and the higher forms of education.

I cannot do better at this point than to quote from Samuel Harden Church's "History of Pittsburgh,"

"Literature has not until recently enjoyed that degree of attention from the public press of Pittsburgh which it deserves. It ought to be the concern of every human unit in the nation to receive honest guidance in the development of literature; for literature, once again, is the written record of thought and action. * * * Should not the newspapers give each household practically all it needs in criticism and information outside of the printed books themselves? How easily we could spare some of the glaring and exaggerated headlines over the daily record of crime, misconduct and false leadership which influences the mind and passions with evil fire and how joyfully we would welcome instead an intelligent, conscientious, comprehensive, discriminating, piquant, in short a masterful discussion from day to day of the thought and action of the world as unfolded in its statesmanship, its oratory, its education, its heroism and its literature."

Pittsburgh has passed through the preliminary period. It is no doubt true that her strong industrial position has dulled the edge of the desire for the finer things of life. But with the birth of the Carnegie Institute and its many branches and the rejuvenation of the University of Pittsburgh has come a love of art, learning, and literature that speaks well for the future. As for the literature of the past, while crude and fragmentary, it contains the foundation for notable progress. This romantic region has brought to light some strong characters to whom I will call your attention for a short time.

As might be expected, Pittsburgh has a decided leaning towards practical authorship. More than fifty per cent of our talent has specialized in text books and works of reference. Among the very earliest of these was the Rev. Joseph Stockton's "Western Calculator, a new and compendious system of practical arithmetic" (1818) which was widely used in the west. It is said that Abraham Lincoln studied from this book.

Erasmus Wilson records the fact that the first man to succeed as a Pittsburgh poet was Morgan Neville whose verses appeared in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* in 1818 and sub-

sequent years. His "Maniac's Song" contains the following stanza:

"Softly breathe, ye sighing gales,
Ligthly o'er his deathbed sweep,
Hark! the mermaid's song bewails;
See, around his Naiad's weep.
They've made his grave
In ocean's cave
And I'll to his bosom creep."

The history of new countries or nations exhibit certain definite phases of growth. We have the first settlement with its struggle for existence; then rapid growth and enlargement; and finally the emergence of a race, prolific, hardy, and industrious, prosperous alike in peace and in war. With the increase in material resources comes the demand for something more than food, clothing, and amusement. This feeling finds expression in fine churches, libraries, and universities and their usual accompaniments—literature and the arts.

JUDGE HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE.

The first author of prominence in the Pittsburgh district was Hugh Henry Brackenridge, 1748-1816. He was born in Scotland of poor parents. When he was five years of age his folks emigrated to America, settling in York County, where he educated himself by persistent reading and study. It is related of him that he carried his Horace into the fields in order that he should lose no time. Unfortunately, so the historian records, a stray cow showed a discerning taste for high class literature and ate the volume. At the early age of fifteen he taught a country school. Later he entered Princeton College and then studied for the ministry. For a time he was a soldier in the Revolutionary War. When he returned to civil life he studied law, afterward settling in Pittsburgh. Here he soon became a leading figure at the bar finally ascending the bench. It is related of him that he was so conscientious in his duties that he refused to dine out from fear that his host might some day appear before him as a suitor. In his day he was considered one of the leading orators of Allegheny County.

The most popular work from his pen was "Modern Chivalry" a book with the general plan of "Don Quixote" abounds in humorous tales conveying a great deal of life's

philosophy. This book was written to give expression to some of the author's views.

In the Western Insurrection (1791-1794) centering around Pittsburgh, he was a leading figure, sympathizing with the people's side of the controversy. Isaac Craig, the father of Neville R. Craig, a later author, took the side of the government. This fact explains several works of a contentious nature by Craig and the Brackenridges.

The following is a list of his most important productions:

"Death of General Montgomery." (1777.) A tragedy in blank verse in honor of the brave assailant of the citadel of Quebec.

"Gazette Publications." (1806.)

"Incidents of the Western Insurrection." (1795.)

"Law Miscellanies." (1814.)

"Modern Chivalry." (1792-1797.)

JUDGE HENRY MARIE BRACKENRIDGE.

(1786-1871.)

The son of Judge Hugh Henry Brackenridge was a far more prolific author than his father. He was admitted to the bar of Allegheny County in 1806. Five years later he descended the Mississippi as far as New Orleans. One year afterward he was made district judge. In 1817 his talents and his knowledge of French and Spanish secured for him the post of secretary to a commission to the South American republics which were just emerging from the Spanish yoke. In 1821 he was appointed United States judge for the western district of Florida holding that position until he returned to Pittsburgh in 1832. His principal works were:

"Views of Louisiana." (1812.)

"History of the Late War." (1815.)

"Voyage of South America." (1818.)

"History of the West Indies."

"Recollections of Persons and Places in the West." (1834.)

"History of the Western Insurrection." (1859.)

NEVILLE BURGOYNE CRAIG.

The subject of this sketch was born March 29, 1787, in the block house at old Fort Pitt. His father was Major Isaac Craig, who had served in the army and navy during

the Revolutionary War. His mother was Amelia Neville, daughter of Gen. John Neville. He was educated at the Pittsburgh Academy and at Princeton College and was admitted to the bar in 1810. In 1821 he was elected city solicitor, serving for eight years when he became editor and proprietor of the *Pittsburgh Gazette,* which he retained for twelve years. The remaining twenty-two years of his life was devoted to literature, study and research. Not the least of these labors was *The Olden Time,* a magazine devoted to colonial history and published every month for two years.

Neville B. Craig was a leading figure of Pittsburgh. Honest, able, of strong convictions, studious and careful, but very courageous, he was feared by his enemies and loved by his friends. His principal works were:

"History of Pittsburgh." (1851.)

"Life and Services of Major Isaac Craig." (1854.)

"Memoirs of Stobo. (1854.) The hero of this sketch was a hostage, surrendered at Fort Necessity. He was confined in Fort Duquesne and afterward at Quebec where he escaped.

"Exposure of Misstatements." (1859.) This is the rather blunt title to a small book setting forth the author's side of his controversy with the Brackenridges.

RICHARD REALF.

The subject of this sketch was born in Sussex County, England, June 14, 1834. As a boy he was quite precocious, receiving, however, only a common school education. His poetry attracted attention when he was only seventeen and he became somewhat of a social pet, in fact too much so for his own good. Under these circumstances it apparently became necessary for him to leave England and he came to New York in April, 1855. In August, 1856, he joined John Brown's little band with whom he drilled in preparation for freeing the slaves. After a time he felt that the methods proposed were wrong and shortly before the affair at Harper's Ferry, he left this country for England. He returned soon afterward by way of New Orleans and was in the south at the time John Brown was taken. He was arrested for complicity but was discharged after a hearing.

From this time until the middle of 1862 Realf disappears from view except that he is known to have spent a great deal of time with the Shakers where his lectures at-

tracted wide attention. At the latter date he enlisted in the 88th Illinois Volunteer Infantry. He participated in the battles of Perryville, Stone River, Nashville, Chickamauga, Chattanooga and Franklin. At the close of the war he was an adjutant, winning his promotion by bravery.

He seems to have married immediately after this but he soon deserted his wife and, after a series of wanderings appeared in Pittsburgh in December, 1869, in a destitute condition. He became a convert to Francis Murphy's temperance oratory and the next seven years were marked by continued and successful effort. In 1876 he lost his editorial position and left the city for the Pacific Coast. In Oakland on the 28th of October he committed suicide.

In person Realf was short but very good looking although we might say sensual in appearance. He had a marvelous voice and was a fascinating lecturer, doing a great deal of platform work. He was gifted with the true poetic spirit, in fact he seemed to breathe poetry. Witness his "Sword Song" the first stanza of which runs as follows:

"Day in, day out, through the long campaign
I march in my place in the ranks;
And whether it shines or whether it rains
My good sword cheerily clanks;
It clanks and clanks in a knightly way
Like the ring of an armored heel;
And this is the song which day by day
It sings with its lips of steel."

We wish that we might stop here, but candor compels us to admit that his genius was marred by a lack of application, by his wandering and shifting about from place to place and by his disregard of many of the duties and conventionalities of life. Endowed with talents of the highest order, he failed miserably in the application of them. His unfortunate ending at an age which should have witnessed his greatest power was due to his own misdeeds.

He was Nature's own child and the perfection of her moods, but just as uncontrollable as his mistress. With the genius and the personality to command the admiration of the world, his name is now little more than a memory. The race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong.

Many of his poems have been collected in two volumes. The first "Guesses at the Beautiful" appeared in 1852, while

the last which was edited by R. J. Hinton and contained a sketch of his life appeared in 1898.

STEPHEN COLLINS FOSTER 1826-1864.

This well known muscial composer was born in what is now Lawrenceville on July 4, 1826. He was not particularly diligent in his studies but at a very early age he showed a fondness for music. His "Tioga Waltz" was published when he was but fourteen. Three years later he wrote two negro melodies for a club in his neighborhood. These created a sensation and they became popular far outside the bounds of his native city. Other compositions followed rapidly and his position in the musical world was definitely established. He spent several years in Cincinnati and in 1850 he went to New York, dying there in 1864.

Altogether he was the author of 160 songs, for most of which he wrote both the words and the music. Among these were "Suwanee River," "Old Kentucky Home," "Uncle Ned," "Old Black Joe," "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming" and many other plantation melodies familiar to us all. Foster's productions were perfect in technique and melody, extremely simple, and full of poetry and sentiment.

It is said that Wolfe, while scaling the heights of Abraham recited Gray's "Elegy" to a brother officer, remarking that he would rather be the author of that poem than the captor of Quebec. Any of us would rather have been the possessor of this man's genius and the author of songs that will comfort and inspire through the ages to come than to have any preferment in society, politics, or business within the gift of man.

MRS. ANNE ROYALL 1769-1854

"Truth is stranger than fiction."

A little note in Erasmus Wilson's "History of Pittsburgh" about an eccentric authoress who was publicly horsewhipped in a Pittsburgh bookstore immediately attracted my attention. I looked the matter up and found not only was the statement correct but that the lady in question passed the greater portion of her youth in this district. I discovered also the following statement about this extraordinary personage:

"Mrs. Anne Royall is a well known figure in Washington. John Quincy Adams describes her as going about like a virago errant in enchanted armor, redeeming herself from

the cramps of indigence by the notoriety of her eccentricities and the forced currency they gave to her publications. She was the terror of politicians and especially of congressmen. At last she became so unendurable that she was formally indicted by the grand jury as a common scold. Her books are full of cutting remarks about public men who offended her and from a present day point of view are very amusing."

Anne Newport was born in Maryland, June 11, 1769. There seems to have been some mystery about her father's birthplace and his previous history. At the age of three years Anne and her folks moved, first to Virginia, and soon afterward to Hannastown, near the present city of Greensburg. Here amid the excitement produced by numerous attacks of the Indians, Anne lived until she was sixteen years old. In the meantime her father had died and her mother had remarried. The second husband did not live long and extreme poverty compelled the family to leave for Virginia, where the widow became the servant of Capt. William Royall, a rich, eccentric old bachelor. He took a great interest in the daughter and in her education. In 1797 they became man and wife although some have claimed that there was no wedding ceremony.

In 1813, her husband died, leaving the use of practically everything to his wife during her widowhood. But the will was contested and ugly rumors were circulated in regard to her character. So she began to travel, largely in the South, visiting her old home only occasionally. In 1823, the alarming intelligence reached her that the courts had decided that the will was invalid and that she was not Capt. Royall's widow.

This was the turning point in her career. Had it not been for this misfortune, she would doubtless have died in obscurity. As matters stood, her case was desperate. Here she was a mature lady of 54, stranded in a strange country, practically without friends, relatives, or the means of earning anything. Yet in this dire extremity she decided not only to make a living but to make it by writing. And not only did she succeed but she kept it up for thirty years.

Many of us have college educations, many of us are in the prime of life and I trust all of us have friends. Poor Anne had neither. Even with our advantages we have found our path strewn with rejected manuscripts, broken promises, independent and penurious publishers and infinitesimal royalties. Let us pause for a moment to think of

the difficulties which beset this woman already at an age when vigor and virility are on the decline.

However one would not have cared to make this statement in Washington where Mrs. Royall first appeared as an author, at least while she was still remembered. Because we fear that it would have taken far more courage than the ordinary mortal is heir to. For her entrance into literary fields was not of a sort that would indicate exhaustion or approaching feebleness. She showed tremendous activity and a readiness to criticize in the bitterest of language any person or any cause. Fearlessly indeed did she wield her pen.

And she became quite popular, for a while at least. She was a prolific and interesting writer, for no one can deny her ability and she expressed herself without reserve. And mixed with this liking was the desire on the part of many to escape the severe castigation which Anne gave to those who had offended her. Or perhaps to receive her praise which she was free to bestow upon her friends.

Not only did she travel over all parts of the Union visiting every place of importance and interviewing its men of affairs, but she wrote as she travelled and solicited subscriptions for her works. In all kinds of weather, often cold and sometimes hungry, this woman of 60 endured hardships that many a young man of 30 would shrink from. And in the five years that she was journeying she produced eleven books.

It was not her nature to do things by halves. She was bitterly opposed to orthodox Christianity and she warmly espoused the cause of the Masons, then a subject of controversy. As may be readily imagined, her writings were of such a character as to increase, rather than diminish, hostility. In a Pittsburgh bookstore she was flogged by a man whom her writings had offended. In Vermont the proprietor of a store ejected her so violently from his premises that her leg was broken.

A most ludicrous affair occurred in 1829. Her enemies felt that something must be done to lessen her influence, for her publications had created quite a following. So she was arrested, tried, and convicted of being a common scold. The first court discharged her but her prosecutors still insisted. Finally they found an old English law of the thirteenth century which seemed to fit the case. The most serious charge seemed to be that she had sworn at a member of a nearby church. At the trial the whole thing was a farce from beginning to end, the court room being in a roar most

of the time. But the slur of the conviction went deeper than one might think and her next tour proved a disastrous failure. So in 1831, she started in Washington the *Paul Pry* a weekly. This and its successor the *Huntress* she continued to publish for twenty-three years, dying "in the harness" in 1854 at the advanced age of 85. Her last written words on the eve of the struggle for the preservation of our country were:

"I pray that the union of these United States be enternal." Is it not possible that her discerning mind saw even the shadow of that great calamity, the Civil War?

In person Anne Royall was short and somewhat stout, hardly the characteristic virago type. Her writings were devoid of true literary style, in fact we might term them vulgar when she descended to abuse. She not only called a spade a very plain spade but often it was only a shovel. Nevertheless her writings are distinctively clean. Her descriptions were clear and plain, she had a commonsense way of looking at things together with superb ability to hit the nail squarely on the head. It is remarkable to see how many of the causes for which she fought and wrote are now a part of the unwritten constitution of our country.

The continually recurring thought is—suppose that Miss Newport had received a careful education in her youth, would not her unflagging zeal, her ability and her fearlessness have made her a powerful instrument for good in the early part of the nineteenth century.

But we must all render homage to that indomitable spirit within her which kept the withered old finger to the pen until they refused to longer obey the will which animated them.

LIST OF PITTSBURGH AUTHORS WITH THE SUBJECTS ON WHICH THEY WROTE

I wish to follow with a list of the authors, past and present, who are or have been identified with this district. In compilation, I have included only those who have done something more than write one book. Either they have two or more works to their credit or they have written a single volume and have accomplished something of literary or scientific value. Of course I realize that this may work some injustice but believe that it is the only rational course.

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Travels: H. M. Brackenridge, Andrew Carnegie, Albert Rhodes, Anne Royall, W. S. Thomas.

Psychology: Kate Gordon, James B. Miner, Walter D. Scott, Guy M. Whipple.

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Anatomy and Medicine: Oscar Klotz, Stewart C. McCurdy, Frederic A. Rhodes, Robert E. Sheldon.

Engineering: Daniel Carhart, George H. Follons, Norman C. Riggs, Horace R. Thayer, C. L. Trinks.

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Social Science: Aubrey L. Ashby, H. H. Brackenridge, Andrew Carnegie, A. S. Hunter, Roswell H. Johnson, Frank M. Leavitt, J. M. Mecklin, Morgan W. Sheedy.

Poetry: G. M. P. Baird, Arthur G. Burgoyne, William H. Burleigh, George T. Fleming, Stephen C. Foster, Henry A. Lavely, Dennis Loughy, Orten Lowe, J. M. Macrum, Lawrence S. MacDonald, Morgan Neville, Robert P. Nevin, Richard Realf, Gregory S. Robbins, H. B. Scott, Charles P. Shiras, Anna P. Siviter, May Stranathan, Charles J. Taylor, Alexander B. Thaw, Abbie A. Wade, Elizabeth Hays Wilkinson.

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Drama: Allan Davis, Thomas W. Stevens, Mary Sullivan, Agnes Caldwell Way, Mary Roberts Rinehart.

Miscellaneous: John W. Beatty (Art), Zadok Cramer, George W. Gerwig, James C. Gilleland (Texts), George F. Gundelfinger, W. R. Halpin, Samuel Hamilton (Text), Ada Van Stone Harris, Ashbel F. Hill, John T. Hoyle, Rose Strong Hubbell, Roscoe M. Ihrig, B. E. Merrill (Lace).

THE POPULATION OF PITTSBURGH AND CONTIGUOUS TERRITORY, INCLUDING THE NAMES OF HEADS OF FAMILIES AS SHOWN BY THE UNITED STATES CENSUS OF 1790.

On March 1, 1790, Congress enacted a law providing for a census of the United States. Under this law the marshals of the several judicial districts were required to ascertain the number of inhabitants within their respective districts, omitting Indians not taxed. The marshals employed assistant marshals as enumerators. Nine months was allowed in which to complete the work. A summary of the census was transmitted to Congress by President Washington on October 27, 1791.

The inhabitants having had no previous experience in census taking, imagined that it was a scheme for increasing taxation, and were inclined to be cautious in giving information lest they should reveal to their detriment too much of their own affairs. There was also opposition to the enumeration on religious grounds, a count of the inhabitants being regarded by many as a cause for divine displeasure. The boundaries of towns and other minor divisions, and even of counties, were in many cases unknown or not well defined. For these reasons and because of the inexperience, and in many cases the incompetency of the enumerators, the census was less accurate than could be desired, but with all its defects it is invaluable to students of history and sociology, as well as to persons interested in genealogy.

In 1790 Pittsburgh did not have a separate existence, being part of Pitt Township. This township comprised a vast area. It included all of Allegheny County lying between the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, as far east as Turtle Creek on the Monongahela, and Plum Creek on the Allegheny, and all of the county north of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, extending northerly to the New York state line, and westerly to what is now the eastern boundary of the state of Ohio. A portion of that part of Pitt Township north of the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers was known as the Depreciation Tract. The Depreciation Tract had been laid out by the state in pursuance of the act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania of March 12, 1783, for the purpose of permitting the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line

in the Revolution, to whom there had been issued depreciation certificates for services in the war, to purchase the lands and pay for them in the certificates at par with gold or silver. The northerly limit of the Depreciation Tract began at the mouth of Mogulbughititon Creek, now Mahoning Creek, if extended to the westerly side of the Allegheny River, and thence ran by a line due west to the Ohio River. Included in the tract in addition to a portion of Allegheny County as at present constituted, was part of Armstrong County, about one-half of Butler County, part of Lawrence County and all of Beaver County north of the Ohio River. Comprised in this territory were the two tracts reserved by the state, one being opposite Pittsburgh, on which the town of Allegheny had already been laid out, the other being at the mouth of the Beaver River. No census appears to have been taken of the inhabitants of Allegheny County living north of the Depreciation Tract.

The assistant marshals for Allegheny County were Colonel Presley Neville of Pittsburgh, who was also enumerator of Washington County, and John Findlay, of Westmoreland County, probably a connection of William Findley, a resident of that county and who had been recently elected to Congress.* Colonel Neville had charge of that portion of Allegheny County comprising the part taken from Washington County by act of the legislature of September 17, 1789, and of the Depreciation Tract. John Findlay was given the work of preparing the census of Elizabeth, Plum, Versailles and Pitt Townships, exclusive of the Depreciation Tract, and of Westmoreland County.

According to the census, the population of Allegheny County was 10,322, of which 5,850, or more than one-half, was contained in that portion lying south of the Monongahela River, and which had been taken from Washington County. The census taken by John Findlay is full of glaring inaccuracies; names of individuals begin with small letters, they are mispelled, and as is apparent to any one familiar with the names of the early inhabitants, some of them are placed in the wrong division of the county. Colonel Neville's work was more accurately done, but even there mistakes appear, as for instance Marcus Hulings is

*Prior to the election of 1791, congressmen were voted for in Pennsylvania on a general ticket for the whole state. William Findley was elected on such a ticket to the Second Congress. Under the Act of the General Assembly of March 16, 1791, the state was divided into eight congressional districts, Westmoreland, Fayette, Washingon and Allegheny counties comprising one district. This district was represented in the Third Congress, 1793-1795, by William Findley.

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shown as being a resident of the Depreciation Tract, while as a matter of fact he lived on the south side of the Monongahela River nearly opposite the mouth of Liberty Street, now Liberty Avenue, where he conducted a well known tavern. Errors like this, however, are easily accounted for when it is remembered that no books were furnished the assistant marshals in which to write their schedules, and that they generally used such scraps of paper as they happened to have at hand; and that the papers for the different districts could easily have become mixed in the hands of the enumerators or in Washington.

A peculiarity of the census is the fact that while Pittsburgh was a part of Pitt Township, a separate enumeration was given for it under the name of "Pittsburgh town." In the summary of the population of Allegheny County, "Pittsburgh town" is reported as having three hundred and seventy-six inhabitants. The only names appearing in the census of 1790 are those of heads of families. The heads of families in "Pittsburgh town" aggregate seventy-seven, which would make the total population somewhat larger than three hundred and seventy-six, if the heads of families were to be multiplied by six, the number which the editor of the reprint of the "Census of 1790" states was the average size of families at that time. However, it is entirely likely that many of the residents of Pittsburgh, as was the case in most frontier communities, were unmarried and had no families, which would make the multiplier inapplicable in this particular case.

What land was included in the numeration of "Pittsburgh town" is hard to discover. The plan of the town of Pittsburgh as surveyed by George Woods for the Penns, comprised the triangle between the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, and extended to Grant Street, and Washington Street, now Eleventh Street. But the names given in the schedule of the heads of families of "Pittsburgh town" with a few exceptions, are not the names of the known inhabitants in this part of Pitt Township. The familiar names of most of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh appear in the enumeration of Pitt Township proper, yet the total is at least approximately correct, as while the slips of paper containing the names of the inhabitants may have become intermingled with those of other districts, this probably happened after the total had been struck. Such well known Pittsburghers as Isaac Craig, Presley Neville, Jacob Bausman, and George Fowler, are named as living in that portion of Allegheny County which was taken from Wash-

ington County. As it is well known that these persons at some time lived on the south side of the Monongahela River opposite Pittsburgh or had lands there, they have no doubt been correctly placed.

The following is the summary of the population of Allegheny County in 1790, and the lists of the names of the heads of families living in the various districts of Pitt Township, which are now part of the city of Pittsburgh:

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY IN 1790

TOWNSHIPS	Number of heads of Families	Free White Males of 16 Years and Upward Including Heads of Families	Free White Males Under 16 Years	Free White Females Including Heads of Families	All Other Free Persons	Slaves	Total
Depreciation Tract	37	50	59	97	----	----	206
Elizabeth	256	468	398	710	----	21	1,597
Pitt	265	390	365	680	2	40	1,477
Pittsburgh town	77	100	80	195	1	----	376
Plum	70	104	105	192	----	1	402
Versailles	67	94	114	203	----	3	414
That part of Allegheny County taken from Washington county	1,072	1,430	1,622	2,695	9	94	5,850
Total,	1,844	2,636	2,743	4,727	12	159	10,322

PITTSBURGH TOWN

NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY	Free White Males of 16 Years and Upward, Including Heads of Families	Free White Males Under 16 Years	Free White Females Including Heads of Families	All Other Free Persons	Slaves
Fowler, Alexander	1	1	2	------	------
Turnbull, Willm	1	-----	4	------	------
dill, Willm	1	3	4	------	------
hapaney, Isaac	1	-----	-----	------	------

ington County. As it is well known that these persons at some time lived on the south side of the Monongahela River opposite Pittsburgh or had lands there, they have no doubt been correctly placed.

The following is the summary of the population of Allegheny County in 1790, and the lists of the names of the heads of families living in the various districts of Pitt Township, which are now part of the city of Pittsburgh:

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Depreciation Tract	37	50	59	97	----	----	206
Elizabeth	256	468	598	710	----	21	1,597
Pitt	255	390	365	680	9	40	1,477
Pittsburgh town	77	100	80	195	1	----	376
Plum	70	104	105	192	----	1	402
Versailles	67	94	114	203	----	3	414
That part of Allegheny County taken from Washington county	1,072	1,430	1,622	2,505	9	34	5,850
Total	1,844	2,636	2,743	4,727	12	159	10,322

PITTSBURGH TOWN

NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY	Free White Males of 16 Years and Upward, Including Heads of Families	Free White Males Under 16 Years	Free White Females Including Heads of Families	All Other Free Persons	Slaves
Fowler, Alexander	1	1	2	----	----
Turnbull, Willm	1	----	4	----	----
dill, Willm	1	3	4	----	----
hapaney, Isaac	1	----	----	----	----

Richerd, Charles (Black)	1	-----	1	------	------
deborney, ann (Black)	-----	-----	2	------	------
Saven, ann (Black)	-----	-----	4	------	------
Betty, (Black)	-----	-----	1	------	------
Repine, Mary	-----	2	3	------	------
Funck, Adam	1	1	2	------	------
Gardner, Hugh	1	1	1	------	------
Arawine, John	3	1	4	------	------
Butler, Richard	2	2	4	------	------
Butler, Ginney	---	3	4	------	------
Brotherington, Robirt	1	1	2	------	------
Cohoon, Robert	3	-----	2	------	------
Watson, David	1	3	7	------	------
Forgit, Charles	1	1	2	------	------
Gunagul, George	2	3	7	------	------
Wiley, Thomas	1	2	3	------	------
Fisher, John	1	1	4	------	------
handlin, John	1	2	1	------	------
Morason, Jame	1	1	-----	------	------
Breson, James	1	1	-----	------	------
Wilkeson, John	2	1	3	------	------
dehuff, John	1	-----	1	------	------
Wolf, Henry	1	2	4	------	------
hill, Thomas	3	1	5	------	------
Myers, Jacob	2	1	4	------	------
Savoron, David	1	-----	4	------	------
Smith, Henry	1	-----	-----	------	------
Richard, Henry	2	-----	5	------	------
Bradley, Mary	-----	2	2	------	------
Sheper, John	2	-----	-----	------	------
Arawine, John	1	-----	1	------	------
Robertson, Andrew	2	1	4	------	------
Mason, John	1	-----	1	------	------
Crye, John	-----	-----	-----	1	------
Peterson, John	2	2	3	------	------
Gornley, Willm	1	-----	2	------	------
Cook, Joshua	1	1	3	------	------
Duning, Willm	5	-----	4	------	------
Christy, Agnes	-----	-----	1	------	------
McMaster, John	1	3	3	------	------
Smith Robert	3	-----	3	------	------
Averat, Philip	1	-----	1	------	------
Lestabarer, George	1	3	3	------	------
Robertson, George	3	1	3	------	------
Murfey, John	1	-----	1	------	------

Hilbert, Charles (Black)	1	----	1	----	----
Gaborney, ann (Black)	----	----	2	----	----
Seven, ann (Black)	----	----	4	----	----
Betty, (Black)	----	----	1	----	----
Hepine, Mary	----	2	3	----	----
Yuack, Adam	1	1	3	----	----
Gardner, Hugh	1	1	1	----	----
Arswine, John	3	1	4	----	----
Butler, Richard	2	2	4	----	----
Butler, Ginny	----	3	4	----	----
Brotherington, Robin	1	1	2	----	----
Cobson, Robert	3	----	2	----	----
Watson, David	1	3	7	----	----
Forgil, Charles	1	1	2	----	----
Gunagal, George	2	3	7	----	----
Willy, Thomas	1	2	3	----	----
Fisher, John	1	1	4	----	----
Sandlin, John	1	2	1	----	----
Morrison, James	1	1	----	----	----
Erson, James	1	1	----	----	----
Wilkson, John	2	1	3	----	----
Selind, John	1	----	1	----	----
Wolf, Henry	1	2	4	----	----
Hill, Thomas	3	1	4	----	----
Myers, Jacob	2	1	4	----	----
Sayerson, David	1	----	4	----	----
Smith, Henry	1	----	----	----	----
Richard, Henry	2	----	5	----	----
Bradley, Mary	----	2	2	----	----
Shaper, John	2	----	----	----	----
Arswine, John	1	----	1	----	----
Roberston, Andrew	2	1	4	----	----
Mason, John	1	----	1	----	----
Cox, John	----	----	----	1	----
Peterson, John	2	2	2	----	----
Gorsley, William	1	----	2	----	----
Cook, James	1	1	3	----	----
Dunlay, William	5	----	4	----	----
Christy, Agnes	----	----	1	----	----
McMaster, John	1	2	3	----	----
Smith Robert	3	----	2	----	----
Avenat, Philip	1	----	1	----	----
Leatabarer, George	1	2	3	----	----
Robertson, George	2	1	2	----	----
Murfey, John	1	----	1	----	----

Carson, Benjamin	1	-----	-----	------	------
Songser, Matthias	1	5	2	------	------
Ryce, James	4	2	4	------	------
quigley, Hugh	1	2	6	------	------
Johnson, John	1	3	4	------	------
Dunlap, John	1	-----	1	------	------
Baty, James	1	1	2	------	------
Mcdaniel, Daniel	1	6	2	------	------
Graham, Malcom	1	1	3	------	------
Graham, Alester	1	-----	1	------	------
Gun, Willm.	3	-----	1	------	------
Murfey, Willm.	2	1	3	------	------
Graham, Angus	1	1	2	------	------
Mcdaniel Murthuth	1	1	4	------	------
Mcdaniel, John	1	2	4	------	------
Mcclode, Daniel	1	-----	1	------	------
Mcclode, Murthuth	1	1	1	------	------
Nelles, Willm.	1	-----	1	------	------
Walker, Daniel	1	2	1	------	------
Waitfeild, Matthew	1	-----	5	------	------
Danielson, Hugh	2	2	5	------	------
Ponteny, George	2	-----	2	------	------
taylor, Samuel	1	1	6	------	------
Hambleton, Willm.	2	-----	2	------	------
Hambleton, Thomas	1	-----	2	------	------
Fisher, Willm.	1	1	2	------	------
Fisher, James	1	1	1	------	------
Bennett, Benjamin, Sen.	1	-----	2	------	------

DEPRECIATION TRACT

NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY	Free White Males of 16 Years and Upward, Including Heads of Families	Free White Males Under 16 Years	Free White Females Including Heads of Families	All Other Free Persons	Slaves
Conrad, Chas.	1	-----	4	------	------
Bradley, Phil.	1	-----	-----	------	------
Keller, Martin	1	1	5	------	------
Brown, Jno.	1	-----	4	------	------
Robinson, Jas.	1	3	3	------	------
Palmer, Chas.	1	2	2	------	------
Dixon, Jacob	1	1	3	------	------

Carson, Benjamin	1	------	------	------	------
Bongner, Matthias	1	3	2	------	------
Rice, James	4	2	4	------	------
quigley, Hugh	1	2	6	------	------
Johnson, John	1	3	4	------	------
Dunlap, John	1	------	1	------	------
Baty, James	1	1	2	------	------
Medanel, Daniel	1	4	2	------	------
Graham, Malcom	1	1	3	------	------
Graham, Alexder	1	------	1	------	------
Gun, William	3	------	1	------	------
Murfey, William	2	1	3	------	------
Graham, Agnes	1	1	2	------	------
Medanel, Martinth	1	1	4	------	------
Medanel, John	1	2	4	------	------
Mcclede, Daniel	2	------	1	------	------
Mcclede, Martinth	1	1	1	------	------
Miller, William	1	------	1	------	------
Walker, Daniel	1	2	1	------	------
Waitfield, Matthew	1	------	3	------	------
Danielson, Hugh	2	2	6	------	------
Pontney, George	2	------	2	------	------
taylor, Samuel	1	1	6	------	------
Hamblston, William	2	------	2	------	------
Hamblston, Thomas	1	------	2	------	------
Fisher, William	1	1	2	------	------
Fisher, James	1	1	1	------	------
Bennett, Benjamin, Sen.	1	------	2	------	------

DEPRECIATION TRACT

NAME OF STAT OF FAMILY	Free White Males of 16 Years and Upward, including Heads of Families	Free White Males under 16 Years	Free White Females including Heads of Families	All other Free Persons	Slaves
Conrad, Chas.	1	------	4	------	------
Bradley, Phil.	1	------	------	------	------
Keller, Martin	1	1	5	------	------
Brown, John	1	------	4	------	------
Robinson, Jas.	1	3	3	------	------
Palmer, Chas.	1	3	2	------	------
Dixon, Jacob	1	1	3	------	------

Hulings, Marcus	1	6	3	------	------
Clevedence, Jno.	1	1	3	------	------
Hammel, Chas.	1	2	2	------	------
Sample, Jas.	1	2	3	------	------
McCleland, Jas.	2	-----	2	------	------
Brickell, Geo.	2	1	2	------	------
Strutt, Edw.	1	1	2	------	------
McElwain, Hugh	1	4	1	------	------
Rector, Chas.	1	1	3	------	------
Murphey, Samuel	1	1	1	------	------
Clark, Josha	1	-----	3	------	------
Chapman, Luke	2	-----	2	------	------
Poor, Benjamin	2	2	4	------	------
Carmichael, Jno.	1	2	2	------	------
Phillips, James	1	2	2	------	------
Poor, Jas.	1	-----	2	------	------
Poor, Esly	2	1	1	------	------
Logan, Alexr.	1	2	2	------	------
Coe, Benjn.	5	4	4	------	------
Day, Ezekiel	1	4	2	------	------
Howe, Daniel	1	1	1	------	------
Thornhill, James	2	1	5	------	------
Wilkison, Angus	1	3	1	------	------
Hulings, Saml.	2	-----	3	------	------
Swainey, Daniel	1	5	4	------	------
Thomas, Elias	1	1	6	------	------
Cutwright, Peter	2	-----	1	------	------
Russ, Abm.	2	-----	4	------	------
Leanard, Jno.	1	3	2	------	------
Derry, Jacob	1	2	3	------	------

PITT TOWNSHIP

Mcglohlin, Edward	2	4	3	------	------
Hill, David	2	-----	1	------	------
Sampson, Margaret	-----	3	2	------	------
Killbreath, Robert	1	6	3	------	2
Caror, James	1	3	5	------	------
Greeno, Thomas	1	1	2	------	1
Lastley, Geare	4	-----	2	------	------
Carnahon, John	1	1	2	------	------
Mcculley, Geare	1	-----	2	------	------
Wilson, Thomas	5	3	4	------	------
Sample, James	4	1	4	------	------
Pedien, Stephen	1	-----	1	------	------
Carvel, Thomas	2	2	1	------	------

Hallings, Marcus	1	6	3	------	------
Cleveledence, Jno.	1	1	2	------	------
Hammel, Chas.	1	2	2	------	------
Sample, Jas.	1	2	2	------	------
McClelland, Jas.	2	------	2	------	------
Bickell, Geo.	2	1	2	------	------
Strutt, Edw.	1	1	2	------	------
MacIlwain, Hugh	1	4	1	------	------
Rector, Chas.	1	1	2	------	------
Murphey, Samuel	1	1	1	------	------
Clark, John	1	------	2	------	------
Chapman, Luke	2	------	2	------	------
Poor, Benjamin	2	2	4	------	------
Carmichael, Jno.	1	2	2	------	------
Phillips, James	1	2	2	------	------
Poor, Jas.	1	------	2	------	------
Poor, Eaty	2	1	1	------	------
Logan, Alexr.	1	2	2	------	------
Coe, Benjn.	6	4	4	------	------
Day, Ezekiel	1	4	2	------	------
Howe, Daniel	1	1	1	------	------
Trombill, James	2	1	3	------	------
Wilkison, Angus	1	3	1	------	------
Hallings, Saml.	2	------	2	------	------
Swainey, Daniel	1	3	4	------	------
Thomas, Elias	1	1	6	------	------
Cutwright, Peter	2	------	1	------	------
Ross, Abm.	2	------	4	------	------
Leonard, Jno.	1	2	2	------	------
Derry, Jacob	1	2	2	------	------

PITT TOWNSHIP

Mcglohlin, Edward	2	4	2	------	------
Hill, David	2	------	1	------	------
Sampson, Margaret	------	2	2	------	------
Kilbreath, Robert	1	3	2	2	------
Carter, James	1	2	4	------	------
Greene, Thomas	1	1	2	1	------
Lastley, Geore	4	------	2	------	------
Carnahon, John	1	1	2	------	------
Mcculley, Geore	1	------	2	------	------
Wilson, Thomas	3	2	4	------	------
Sample, James	4	1	4	------	------
Fedien, Stephen	1	------	1	------	------
Carrel, Thomas	2	2	1	------	------

Points, John	1	2	2	------	------
Streets, John	1	1	3	------	------
Witiason, Willm.	1	1	2	------	------
Irish, Nathaniel	2	1	1	------	------
Wiley, Thomas	1	1	2	------	------
Bennett, Isaac	3	5	3	------	------
Bennett, Abraham	1	1	4	------	------
Franses, Phillip	1	-----	-----	------	------
Whitiasan, John	1	1	1	------	------
Morcey, John	1	1	1	------	------
Brackenridg, Hugh H.	1	2	1	------	------
Wilkason, John	4	2	6	------	------
Mccord, Samuel	1	3	4	------	------
tanahill, Josiah	2	1	5	------	------
tanahill, Adamson	1	1	2	------	------
Harger, John	2	-----	2	------	------
Windbiddle, Conrod	2	-----	-----	------	------
Walles, George	1	6	3	------	1
Cohoon, James	3	3	3	------	------
Scull, John	1	4	2	------	------
Willson, Willm.	3	-----	4	------	------
dunken, David	4	1	4	------	4
Ornsbey, John	3	1	3	------	------
Sample, Samuel	1	1	3	------	------
Amberson, Willm.	1	1	3	------	------
Parker, Thomas	1	1	2	------	4
killpatrick, Abraham	1	1	4	------	2
Ohara, James	8	3	5	------	------
Earnest, Matthew	2	3	3	------	------
Ansley, David	2	-----	-----	------	------
Cockendoll, John	3	1	6	------	------
Mcclain, Loughlen	2	1	1	------	------
Harden, James	1	-----	-----	------	------
Potts, Rosanna	-----	-----	1	------	------
Adams, George	1	-----	1	------	2
Smith, John	1	-----	1	------	------
Brdey, Rosanna	-----	1	3	------	------
Westaff, Willm.	1	-----	-----	------	------
Jones, Samuel	2	-----	3	------	------
Albo, Mary	-----	1	2	------	------
householder, John	1	-----	2	------	------
Cooper, Marten	1	1	4	------	------
Shaw, Alexander	3	1	1	------	------
Watson, Andrew	2	2	4	------	------
Signney, Stephen	2	4	5	------	------
Mcnickey, Alexander	2	1	3	------	------

Points, John	1	2	2		
Streets, John	1	1	3		
Wilkeson, William	1	1	2		
Irish, Nathaniel	3	1	1		
Wiley, Thomas	1	1	2		
Bennett, Isaac	2	3	5		
Bennett, Abraham	1	1	4		
Frances, Philip	1				
Whitaxen, John	1	1	1		
Morcey, John	1	1	1		
Brackenridge, Hugh H.	1	2	1		
Wilkeson, John	4	2	6		
Mecord, Samuel	1	3	4		
Lamahill, Josiah	2	1	6		
Lamahill, Adamson	1	1	2		
Harper, John	2		2		
Windbiddle, Conrad	2				
Wallace, George	1	6	3		1
Cobonn, James	3	3	3		
Scull, John	1	4	2		
Willson, William	2		4		
Gunkon, David	4	1	4		4
Orasley, John	3	1	2		
Sample, Samuel	1	1	2		
Amberson, William	1	1	2		
Parker, Thomas	1	1	2		4
Lillipatrick, Abraham	1	1	4		2
Obara, James	3	3	6		
Earnest, Matthew	2	3	3		
Analey, David	2				
Cockenduff, John	2	1	6		
Mecklin, Loughlen	2	1	1		
Harden, James	1				
Potts, Roseanna			1		
Adams, George	1		1		2
Smith, John	1		1		
Bredy, Roseanna		1	3		
Wetzel, William	1				
Jones, Samuel	2		3		
Alle, Mary		1	2		
Housholder, John	1		2		
Cooper, Martin	1	1	4		
Shaw, Alexander	3	1	1		
Watson, Andrew	2	2	4		
Sigurney, Stephen	2	4	6		
Monkday, Alexander	2	1	3		

Smith, Mason	2	———	3	------	------
Graham, Petter	1	1	1	------	------
Mcafarson, James	1	1	2	------	------
arawine, Agness	-----	-----	2	------	1
Arawine, Willm.	1	-----	2	------	------
Willock, Andrew	1	1	2	------	------
driver, Samuel	1	2	2	------	------
Welch, George	1	2	5	------	------
Gray, Daniel	6	1	2	------	------
Williams, James	1	-----	1	------	------
Greer, Thomas	3	1	3	------	------
Chambers, James	1	1	2	------	------
Gipson, John	1	5	4	------	3
Poparde, James	2	1	2	------	------
Benett, Pengemen	1	2	1	------	------
Demster, Alexander	1	-----	-----	------	------
McKinsey, Alexander	1	2	2	------	------
Sans, Thos.	1	2	4	------	------
Mcgregor, John	1	3	3	------	------
Trimble, Alex.	1	4	3	------	------
Rusel, James	1	2	3	------	------
Powle, Malachi	1	3	2	------	------
Gill, Hugh	1	1	3	------	------
McMon, Alex.	2	3	3	------	------
McCree, Wm.	2	3	3	------	------
Mcgomery, Nathanael	1	-----	1	------	------
Myers, James	1	3	7	------	------
McCloud, John	1	-----	3	------	------
Goffey, James	1	2	5	------	------
Linhart, Christefor	3	4	5	------	------
McDowell, John	2	-----	4	------	2
Bennett, Peter	1	2	2	------	------
McCloure, Abdon	2	3	4	------	------
Antes, Rhinhart	1	1	3	------	------
Roleter, Peter	2	-----	1	------	------
White, John	3	-----	3	------	------
Gilleland, David	2	4	1	------	------
Bucher, Christen	4	1	3	------	------
Bucher, Jacob	1	-----	2	------	------
Fisher, John	1	1	-----	------	------
Rihne, James	2	1	4	------	------
Rihne, Wm.	1	-----	3	------	------
Lovjoy, Ben.	1	2	1	------	------
Kenedy, John	1	-----	3	------	------
McDeorman, Thos.	1	1	2	------	------
McDormon, Henry	2	-----	4	------	------

Smith, Mason	2		2		
Graham, Petter	1	1	1		
Meafarson, James	1	1	2		
arawine, Agness			2		1
Arawine, Willm	1		2		
Willock, Andrew	1	1	2		
driver, Samuel	1	2	3		
Welch, George	1	2	5		
Gray, Daniel	5	1	2		
Williams, James	1		1		
Greer, Thomas	3	1	3		
Chambers, James	1	1	2		
Gipson, John	1	5	4		3
Poparde, James	2	1	2		
Benett, Pengemen	1	2	1		
Demster, Alexander	1				
McKinsey, Alexander	1	2	2		
Bans, Thos	1	2	4		
Mcgregor, John	1	3	3		
Trimble, Alex	1	4	3		
Rusel, James	1	2	3		
Powle, Malachi	1	3	2		
Gill, Hugh	1	1	3		
McMon, Alex	2	3	3		
McCree, Wm	2	3	3		
Mcgomery, Nathanael	1		1		
Myers, James	1	3	7		
McCloud, John	1		3		
Coffey, James	1	3	6		
Linhart, Christefor	3	4	5		
McDowell, John	2		4		2
Bennett, Peter	1	2	2		
McClouse, Abdon	2	3	4		
Antes, Rhinhart	1	1	3		
Roleter, Peter	2		1		
White, John	3		3		
Gillaland, David	2	4	1		
Bucher, Christen	4	1	3		
Bucher, Jacob	1		2		
Fisher, John	1	1			
Rihne, James	2	1	4		
Rihne, Wm	1		3		
Lovjoy, Ben	1	2	1		
Kenedy, John	1		3		
McDeorman, Thos	1	1	2		
McDorman, Henry	2		4		

McDonald, Alex.	1	-----	1	------	------
McDonald, John	1	1	-----	------	------
Torner, John	1	1	2	------	1
Clark, John	2	-----	3	------	------
Burchfield, Adey	1	-----	1	------	------
Castlman, Jacob	1	2	3	------	------
Clark, Marey	2	-----	3	------	------
McBride, Marey	1	2	3	------	------
Graham, Daniel	1	1	2	------	------
Birkhart, Jacob	3	-----	2	------	------
Shaw, Peter	1	1	-----	------	------
Shaw, John	1	2	1	------	------
Gibson, Thos.	1	1	4	------	------
Hamelton, Archbold	1	3	3	------	------
Powle, Agnes	3	2	2	------	------
Perrey, John	2	5	4	------	3
Thompson, John	2	2	2	------	------
Foser, Black Thom.	1	1	2	------	------
Duff, James	1	-----	1	------	------
Nell, John	1	1	1	------	------
McCertney, Peter	1	-----	2	------	------
Duck, Charles	1	2	1	------	------
Kelley, Berrey	1	-----	2	------	------
Dumbare, John	2	3	4	------	------
Amberson, James	1	2	1	------	------
Roodarmer, John	2	3	4	------	------
Whitsel, Jacob	1	3	2	------	------
Backer, Charles	2	2	3	------	------
McGregor, John	1	3	2	------	------
Linenton, Timothy	1	4	4	------	------
Kiser, Ben	1	3	3	------	------
McJunear, Doming	1	1	1	------	1
Sampson, Thomas	1	3	2	------	------
Perchment, Peter	1	-----	2	------	------
Ford, Moses	2	-----	2	------	------
Cox, William	1	-----	3	------	------
Alet, William	3	3	5	------	1
McKelhenen, John	1	4	4	------	------
Morrey, Neal	1	1	2	------	------
McClaland, William	1	2	6	------	------
White, Wm.	1	1	3	------	------
Rooss, Thos.	1	3	5	------	------
Leveg, Henry	1	3	2	------	------
Willson, Elesabeth	1	1	2	------	------
Merton, Thos.	1	4	3	------	------
Brown, Georg	1	2	4	------	------

McDonald, Alex.	1	----	2	----	----
McDonald, John	1	1	----	----	----
Torrey, John	1	1	3	----	1
Clark, John	2	----	3	----	----
Burchfield, Aley	1	----	1	----	----
Castleman, Jacob	1	2	3	----	----
Clark, Mary	2	----	3	----	----
McBride, Mary	1	2	3	----	----
Graham, Daniel	1	1	2	----	----
Birkhart, Jacob	3	----	2	----	----
Shaw, Peter	1	1	----	----	----
Shaw, John	1	2	1	----	----
Gibson, Thos.	1	1	4	----	----
Hamelton, Archibald	1	3	3	----	----
Powle, Agnes	3	2	2	----	----
Perry, John	2	5	4	----	2
Thompson, John	2	2	2	----	----
Fraser, Black Thos.	1	1	2	----	----
Duff, James	1	----	1	----	----
Neil, John	1	1	1	----	----
McCertney, Peter	1	----	2	----	----
Duck, Charles	1	2	1	----	----
Kelley, Berry	1	----	2	----	----
Dunbare, John	2	3	4	----	----
Anderson, James	1	2	1	----	----
Boodarmer, John	2	2	4	----	----
Willsel, Jacob	1	2	3	----	----
Backer, Charles	3	2	2	----	----
McGregor, John	1	2	2	----	----
Limenton, Timothy	1	4	4	----	----
Kiser, Ben	1	3	2	----	----
McLunsar, Dominic	1	1	1	----	1
Sampson, Thomas	1	1	2	----	----
Parchment, Peter	1	----	2	----	----
Ford, Moses	2	----	2	----	----
Cox, William	1	----	2	----	----
Abel, William	2	3	5	----	1
McKelbenon, John	1	4	4	----	----
Morrey, Neal	1	1	2	----	----
McClaland, William	1	2	6	----	----
White, Wm.	1	1	3	----	----
Boose, Thos.	1	2	4	----	----
Lerer, Henry	1	3	2	----	----
William, Elizabeth	1	1	2	----	----
Martin, Thos.	1	4	2	----	----
Brown, George	1	2	4	----	----

Osburn, Samul	1	-----	1	------	------
Carson, Wm.	1	3	3	------	------
McLachland, Marey	-----	1	3	------	------
Brown, Wm.	1	-----	2	------	------
McAnall, John	1	1	4	------	------
McCashland, And.	1	4	2	------	------
Caster, Thos.	2	2	2	------	------
Scot, Wm.	1	-----	-----	------	------
Stiley, Merton	1	2	4	------	------
Reyon, Jacob	2	2	5	------	------
Nigley, Alex.	4	5	5	------	------
Myers, Georg	1	-----	4	------	------
Semerman, Jacob	3	1	2	------	------
Heath, Capten	1	2	4	------	3
Wachel ,John	2	2	7	------	------
Eles, Gesper	1	2	2	------	------
Stell, Jacob	2	3	4	------	------
Rooss, Taffey	2	2	2	------	------
Groobs, Jacob, senr	4	1	2	------	------
Groobs, Jacob, Jur.	1	1	2	------	------
Groobs, Conrod	1	-----	1	------	------
Groobs, John	1	1	1	------	------
Navle, Gast	2	1	3	------	------
Lemon, Isaac	3	1	4	------	------
Wise, Barbra	3	-----	4	------	------
Hilens, Barnabas	3	2	4	------	------
Ewalt, Samyl	2	2	5	------	2
Windebedle, Conrod	2	1	3	------	5
Connar, Timothy	2	3	5	------	------
Salamon, Thos.	2	2	3	------	------
Henderson, Robert	1	2	5	------	------
Calonder, Merton	1	1	1	------	------
Willson, Colbreath	1	4	5	------	------
Serlat, Nickles	3	2	2	------	------
Sherlat, Exekiel	1	1	2	------	------
Cable, Henry	1	1	3	------	------
McCordey, Adam	1	-----	1	------	------
Henan, Stewart	3	1	4	------	------
Brooks, James	1	-----	3	------	------
Brooks, Charles	1	1	4	------	------
Brooks, Lesh	-----	-----	1	------	------
Brooks, Aron	-----	-----	1	------	------
Smith, Debrick	2	-----	3	------	1
Horesh, James	1	-----	1	------	------
Sevron, John	1	-----	2	------	------
Brown, Thos.	1	3	5	------	------

Osburn, Samuel	1	----	1	----	----
Carson, Wm	1	3	3	----	----
McLaughland, Mary	----	1	3	----	----
Brown, Wm	1	----	3	----	----
McAnall, John	1	1	4	----	----
McCaslaud, And	1	4	3	----	----
Cauter, Thos	3	2	2	----	----
Scot, Wm	1	----	----	----	----
Stiley, Marten	1	2	4	----	----
Beyon, Jacob	3	3	3	----	----
Nigley, Alex	4	3	3	----	----
Myers, George	1	----	4	----	----
Sauerman, Jacob	3	1	3	----	----
Heath, Caspar	1	1	4	----	4
Wachel, John	2	2	1	----	----
Kies, Casper	1	2	2	----	----
Stall, Jacob	2	3	4	----	----
Moore, Tally	2	2	2	----	----
Groole, Jacob, senr	3	1	3	----	----
Groole, Jacob, Jnr	1	1	2	----	----
Groole, Conrad	1	----	1	----	----
Groole, John	1	1	1	----	----
Nerle, Gast	3	1	3	----	----
Lemon, Isaac	3	1	4	----	----
Wise, Barbra	3	----	4	----	----
Hilens, Barnabas	3	2	4	----	----
Ewalt, Sanyl	2	2	3	2	----
Windebeck, Conrad	2	1	1	----	2
Connar, Timothy	2	3	3	----	----
Salamon, Thos	2	2	3	----	----
Hundersan, Robert	1	2	2	----	----
Galonder, Merton	1	1	1	----	----
Willson, Catheraul	1	4	1	----	----
Serlat, Nicklas	3	2	2	----	----
Sherlat, Rasalal	1	1	2	----	----
Cable, Henry	1	1	2	----	----
McCarley, Adam	1	----	1	----	----
Hanan, Stewart	2	1	4	----	----
Brooks, James	1	----	2	----	----
Brooks, Charles	1	1	4	----	----
Brooks, Leah	----	----	1	----	----
Brooks, Ann	----	----	1	----	----
Smith, Dorrice	2	----	2	----	1
Horsel, James	1	----	2	----	----
Sevren, John	1	----	2	----	----
Brown, Thos	1	2	0	----	----

Caldwell, Robert	1	2	2	------	------
Boneface, Wm.	1	-----	4	------	------
Lenord, Pat.	1	-----	1	------	------
Molegan, James	2	-----	3	------	------
Read, James	2	-----	2	------	------
Brothers, Bede	-----	1	1	------	------
Williams, James	1	-----	4	------	------
Flemen, James	1	3	5	------	------
Ervin, David	1	3	2	------	------
Coningham, Samuel	1	1	4	------	------
Merton, Thos.	1	2	3	------	------
Graham, Wm.	1	2	4	------	------
Grace, John	1	1	1	------	------
Colane, John	1	1	1	------	------
Neal, Robert	1	-----	4	------	------
McCreat, Patrick	1	-----	2	------	------
Buckhanen, Robert	1	-----	1	------	------
Walter, John	1	3	2	------	------
Correy, James	1	2	4	------	------
Fenegan, Margaret	-----	-----	2	------	------
Allexander, James	1	-----	1	------	------
Carswell, Joseph	1	3	4	------	------
Mcannear, Hodew	1	1	1	------	------
Ferry, John	1	2	4	------	------
Burges, Mrs.	1	1	1	------	------
Brittel, Georg	1	1	3	------	------
Youlan, Mark	2	3	3	------	------
Dixcon, Jacob	1	1	3	------	------
Plumer, Charles	1	1	2	------	------
Robeson, James	3	2	3	------	------
Brown, John	1	-----	3	------	------
Coler, Adam	1	1	4	------	------
Bradley, Philep	1	-----	-----	------	------
Conrade, Jacob	1	1	2	------	------
Mcleland, James	4	-----	4	------	------
Yayler, Wm.	-----	-----	-----	1	------
Scot, John	-----	-----	-----	1	------
Youland, John	2	-----	1	------	------
Hamel, Charles	1	2	1	------	------
Richey, John	1	3	5	------	------
Ogrouderen, Peter	1	1	4	------	------
Miller, John	1	-----	4	------	------
Dick, Wm.	1	2	1	------	------
Gill, Wm.	1	2	1	------	------
Claw, James	1	2	1	------	------

Caldwell, Robert	2	2	2	------	------
Bonelace, Wm	1	------	4	------	------
Leonard, Pat	1	------	1	------	------
Molegan, James	2	------	3	------	------
Read, James	2	------	2	------	------
Brothers, Hede	------	1	1	------	------
Williams, James	1	------	4	------	------
Fremon, James	1	2	5	------	------
Irvin, David	1	2	2	------	------
Coningham, Samuel	1	1	4	------	------
Merton, Thos	1	2	3	------	------
Graham, Wm	1	2	4	------	------
Grace, John	1	1	1	------	------
Colane, John	1	1	1	------	------
Neal, Robert	1	------	4	------	------
McCreat, Patrick	1	------	2	------	------
Bockhanan, Robert	1	------	1	------	------
Walter, John	1	2	3	------	------
Corry, James	1	2	4	------	------
Fenagan, Bartrant	------	------	2	------	------
Alexander, James	1	------	1	------	------
Carswell, Joseph	1	2	1	------	------
Meanner, Hodge	1	1	1	------	------
Perry, John	1	2	4	------	------
Burgess, Mrs	1	1	1	------	------
Brittel, George	1	1	2	------	------
Youlan, Mary	2	2	4	------	------
Dixson, Jacob	1	1	2	------	------
Plumer, Charles	1	1	2	------	------
Robeson, James	2	2	2	------	------
Brown, John	1	------	2	------	------
Coler, Adam	1	1	4	------	------
Bradley, Ethler	1	------	------	------	------
Comrade, Jacob	1	1	2	------	------
McClelland, James	4	------	4	------	------
Taylor, Wm	------	------	------	1	------
Scot, John	------	------	------	1	------
Youland, John	2	------	1	------	------
Hamel, Charles	1	2	1	------	------
Riehey, John	1	2	2	------	------
Overmodeven, Peter	1	1	4	------	------
Miller, John	1	------	2	------	------
Dick, Wm	1	2	1	------	------
Gill, Wm	1	2	1	------	------
Claw, James	1	2	1	------	------

White, Joseph	1	2	2	------	------
Thomas, Henry	1	1	3	------	------
Cable, Henry	1	1	3	------	------
Miller, Sarah	-----	-----	4	------	------
Huge, David	1	2	3	------	------
Joans, Lidey	-----	1	1	------	------
Gibans, Davd	2	-----	-----	------	------
Cogan, Wm.	1	-----	3	------	------
Joans, Charles	1	3	3	------	------
Robeson, Peter	1	-----	1	------	------
McCrestel, Michl.	1	-----	4	------	------
Grant, James	1	1	2	------	------
Derry, Mark	2	-----	-----	------	------
McKiney, Roddey	1	1	5	------	------
Bedford, Nathanael	2	1	1	------	------
McHenry, Daniel	1	3	1	------	------
Thompson, Georg	1	-----	3	------	------
Lesle, Wm.	2	2	5	------	------
Esgue, Bengemen	1	-----	1	------	------
Horesh, James	1	-----	1	------	------
Murfey, Patrick	1	3	4	------	------
Roper, Stephen	1	-----	-----	------	------
Freser, Rosa	1	-----	-----	------	------

White, Joseph	1	2	3		
Thomas, Henry	1	1	3		
Cable, Henry	1	1	3		
Miller, Sarah			4		
Hugs, David	1	3	3		
Jones, Lidey		1	1		
Gibons, Dave	1				
Cogan, Wm	1		3		
Jones, Charles	1	2	2		
Robeson, Peter	1		1		
McCrestal, Mich	1		4		
Grant, James	1	1	2		
Derry, Mark	2				
McKiney, Roddey	1	1	5		
Bedford, Nathanael	2	1	1		
McHenry, Daniel	1	3	1		
Thompson, George	1		2		
Leele, Wm	2	2	6		
Hague, Benjamin	1		1		
Herrad, James	1		1		
Morley, Patrick	1	3	4		
Roper, Stephen	1				
Fraser, Rosa	1				

THE FRONTIER POLICY OF PENNSYLVANIA

BY GEORGE ARTHUR CRIBBS

THE DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIER.

Frontier Forts.

(Continued from the April number)

Before the French and Indian War only one fort had been erected in Pennsylvania which has the slightest claim to be considered of a public character. This is the fort, already mentioned, which was erected below the city of Philadelphia as a protection against pirates. The cost of its erection was defrayed by a public lottery.

In 1750, before the trouble with the French had become acute, the proprietors in a letter to the governor recommended that a small stone fort should be erected on the Ohio, and expressed themselves as willing to donate four hundred pounds toward its erection and one hundred pounds a year for its maintenance. (1) The governor had several private conferences with the speaker and some of the principle members of the house, but found them adverse to the acceptance of the proprietory proposal. And despite the fact that the fort was recommended by the traders and those best versed in frontier affairs, the assembly, relying upon their old method of maintaining peace with the western Indians by means of extensive presents and friendly treatment, refused to sanction its erection. (2) The governor, recognizing its utility, still hoped to gain his end, (3) but the procrastination of the assembly put it off until the occupation of the territory by the French made the project impossible.

But while the Quakers and the Quaker government at Philadelphia, secure in their distance from the frontier, rested upon the defence of justice, it was different with the backwoodsman. He knew the forest and its natives. It was he who suffered from the scalping party. It was his property which was destroyed, his wife who was murdered, and his children who were carried away while the assembly hesitated to act for fear of alienating the affection of the

1. *Col. Rec.*, V, 575.
2. *Ibid*, 547.
3. *Ibid*, 522.

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But while the Quakers and the Quaker government at Philadelphia, secure in their distance from the frontier, rested upon the defence of justice, it was different with the backwoodsman. He knew the forest and its natives. It was he who suffered from the sniping party. It was his property which was destroyed, his wife who was murdered, and his children who were carried away while the assembly hesitated to act for fear of alienating the affection of the

1. Col. Rec., V, 575.
2. 1754, 617.
3. 1754, 622.

Indians. No wonder then that before the procrastinating assembly took up the question the enterprising westerner had often worked out for himself a system of defence.

These defences might be nothing more than a log house, strongly built, with small windows and loopholes flaring on the inside to permit a rifle being pointed in any direction. They might consist of a block house with projecting upper story, or of a group of buildings surrounded by a stockade. These larger works formed the community's center of defence. (1) They were the dwelling places of the inhabitants during times of danger, from which armed parties were sent out to till the fields,(2) each workman with his entire fighting equipment. The weapons were deposited in some central place and a sentinel stationed (3) to give the alarm in case of attack. The whole company could thus be ready for combat on brief notice.

Such forts were seldom attacked by Indians alone and almost never taken. In case of attack each inmate had his assigned post and task. Each man with his rifle and as good a supply of ammunition as could be provided was stationed at a specified loophole. All axes, mattocks, and other such implements were collected within for use in case of a hand to hand encounter. The women saw that all utensils were full of water to quench any fire that might be kindled.(4)

Captain James Patterson, a trader of the Juniata Valley, adopted a very novel means of defence. He constructed a cannon from an oak log and discharged it frequently in the hearing of the Indians, (5) much to their awe and amazement. Once during the absence of her husband Mrs. Patterson frightened off a band of Indians by threatening them with this miniature cannon. He also erected a target, the center of which was shot full of holes, at some distance from his house. Whenever Indians came in sight, he would fire at it. The appearance of the target gave them so high an opinion of his skill that they did not care to trifle with him.

The earliest private fort of which we have any account was that erected upon the present site of Harrisburg. About 1705 John Harris moved westward and established a ferry over the Susquehanna at this point. (6) The place soon became important as a connecting link between Philadelphia

(1) No distinction can be made between the use of the private and the use of the public fort. The one merges into the other.
(2) DODDRIDGE, *Notes*, 95.
(3) *Ibid*, 100.
(4) *Ibid*, 222-223.
(5) *Collections of Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, I, 64.
(6) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., XII, 372.

and the Susquehanna settlements. The original settler died in 1748 but his son, John Harris, Jr., continued in the same place, living generally on good terms with the Indians. When hostilities began in 1755, he cut loopholes in his house, provided it with a garrison of six or seven men, and determined to hold out until the last. (1) This for a time was the only place of security in the Susquehanna Valley,(2) but after 1756 it merges in with the system of forts erected by the province.

Another private fort was that erected by Benjamin Chambers on the present site of Chambersburg, Franklin County. (3). The stockade inclosed the flour and saw mills as well as the dwelling house of the proprietor. The house was of stone and two stories in height, the water from the spring running under part of it. The windows were small and particularly adapted to defence; the roof was covered with sheet lead as a protection against fire. Besides small arms, Colonel Chambers had provided himself with two four pound cannon. In this fort the Chambers family dwelt safely throughout the whole period of the Indian wars. It was also a place of refuge for many of their neighbors.

A third important private fort was that erected in 1753 at Aughwick, (4) in what is now Huntington County, by the trader, George Croghan. It was enlarged and stockaded by the government in 1756 and renamed Fort Shirley.

It may seem to be almost a digression, but the construction of the French forts was such an important event in the history of Pennsylvania, in fact of America, that I shall turn to the French viewpoint long enough to describe them briefly. The French in 1750 claimed the entire Mississippi Valley by the right of discovery. From the mouth of the river to the Great Lakes they had stretched a line of forts in witness to their claim. Now, in order to secure also the Valley of the Ohio, they projected a secondary line to the mouth of that river. As far as Fort Duquesne the line was extended: then circumstance interfered, but of that more later.

(1) EGLE, *History of Pennsylvania*, 90. John Harris to the governor, October 29, 1755: "I have this day cut holes in my house, and am determined to hold out to the last extremity if I can get some men to stand by me, few of which I can at present, every one being in fear of their own families being cut off every hour (such is our situation.)"

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 635.

(3) *Ibid*, XII, 350.

(4) DARLINGTON, *Gist*, 180.

Fort Presqu'Isle, (1) erected in 1753, was the northernmost of the series. It was a square fort built of one thickness of logs. There was neither bank within nor ditch without. Of the two gates, one faced toward Lake Erie, the other toward Fort Le Boeuf. Four cannon were mounted in one of the bastions. The magazine was a store house covered with shingles and not sunk in the ground as was customary. There were barracks within the fort for 150 men.

The next fort to the south was Le Boeuf, situated on French Creek at the head of navigation, distant about thirty miles from Presqu'Isle. George Washington, who visited it in 1753, describes it in journal as follows: "It is situated on the South or West fork of French Creek, near the water, and is almost surrounded by the creek and a small branch of it which forms a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are poles driven into the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it and sharp at top, with port holes cut for cannon, and loop holes for the smaller arms to fire through. There are eight six pound pieces mounted in each bastion, and one piece of four pounds before the gate. In the bastions are a guard house, chapel, doctor's lodging, and the commander's private store: round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks within the fort for the soldiers' dwelling, covered with bark and some with boards, made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smith's shops, &. Number of men supposed 200, exclusive of officers, of which (2) there are many."

Fort Venango was the third in the series. This was a small stockade fort built on the Allegheny River at the Mouth of French Creek, and accommodating a captain's command of fifty men. (3) The French intended to build a new and better fort at this place, but it is doubtful whether it was ever done. Samuel Hazard concludes that it was not: yet there are today remains of a second fort below the city of Franklin which seem to be of French origin. (4)

The most important of the series, both on account of the struggles which centered about it, was Fort Duquesne. It was erected by the French in 1754 after they had driven away the Virginians who were attempting to forestall them,

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 13; XII, 444.
Col. Rec., VIII, 312.
(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., XII, 387.
(3) *Ibid*, XII, 463.
(4) DAY, *Hist. Coll.*, 641.

at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, the most strategic point in western Pennsylvania. This was a rectangular fort about fifty yards long and forty yards wide, with bastions at each corner. About one-half was constructed of squared logs and the other half, which was toward the water, of stockades. This part was built of round logs somewhat over a foot in diameter and eleven or twelve feet high, with loop holes made for firing toward the ground. Split logs covered the spaces between each two round ones. Entrenchments about seven feet high were cast up all around the fort at a distance of four rods. These were constructed of wattlework filled in with earth. There were two gates, the one opening inland and the other toward the river. The first was provided with a drawbridge which at night was drawn up by iron chains. The magazine, constructed of large logs and covered four feet thick with clay, was almost entirely underground. There were no cannon except at the bastions, each of which had four. The barracks were outside of the fort; the land about it was solid and dry, but cleared of all trees and stumps for a considerable distance, so that an attacking party would have to expose himself to a direct fire. (1) About two hundred yards from this was a second fort in the shape of a square and much more strongly constructed. (2)

When the news came that the French were building these forts, the East broke into one of its periodic furies of excitement. Then came the defeat of Braddock and the retreat of Dunbar. The frontier, unprepared in spite of many representations of its condition by traders and Indian agents, lay at the mercy of the savages. The inhabitants, undisciplined and many of them unarmed, were compelled to improvise some scanty means of defence or flee from their

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 13.
Ibid, XII, 357. A description by John McKinney who was held as a prisoner in the fort.

(2) *Ibid*, 427. Extract from a letter from Pittsburg November 26, 1758; "On the 24th, at night, we were informed by one of our Indian scouts that he had discovered a cloud of smoke above the place, and soon after another came with certain intelligence that is was burned and abandoned by the enemy.------There are two forts about 200 yards distant, the one built with immense labor, small, but a great deal of strong works collected into little room, and stands on the point of a narrow neck of land at the confluence of the two rivers. It is square, and has two ravelins, gabions at each corner, &c. The other fort stands nothing so strong as the other---several of the outworks were on the bank of the Allegheny, in form of a parellogram, but lately begun, and still unfinished. There are, I think, 30 stacks of chimneys standing, the houses all destroyed."

homes. The assembly hesitated to act, pleading as an excuse that they feared to alienate the affections of the Indians. Very affectionate the red denizens of the forests were proving themselves.

Commissioners were finally appointed to inspect the frontier and recommend means of defence. At first they considered that the best plan would be to carry the war into the enemy's country; but on the representations of Croghan and others better acquainted with Indian affairs, they adopted a plan of defensive operations and recommended a line of forts along the frontier. (1) Construction was begun immediately.

The forts east of the Susquehanna were erected along the line of the Blue Hills: west of that river they formed a semicircle stretching from Sunbury to the Great Cove. They were built at the principle passes through the mountains and each was garrisoned by from twenty to one hundred troops according to the importance of the place and the number of troops at the disposal of the government. (2)

East of the Susquehanna the forts were from ten to twelve miles apart. (3) The three most important were Forts Allen, Lebanon, and Henry. The easternmost, Fort Allen, was situated on the west branch of the Delaware, near the Moravian town of Gnadenhutten. Fort Lebanon was at the forks of the Schuylkill and Fort Henry, which was the most important of them all, was situated at a pass called Talihiao further to the west. The spaces between these three were filled up by block houses and smaller stockades. The garrisons consisted of from twenty to fifty men who employed themselves in ranging the woods between the posts. The chain of forts ran at times on the south side of

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 153. Commissioners to Governor, read in Council June 14, 1756: "When the Indians first began to Infest our Frontiers, the Commissioners were of opinion that the best means of Securing our Inhabitants was to carry the war into the Enemy's Country and hunt them in all their Fishing, Hunting, Planting, & dwelling places: But having sent for Croghan & others in order to obtain their opinion and they advising that by a chain of forts the Frontier should first be in some degree secured before we acted offensively, the same was agreed to---the Building of Forts immediately set about, which took up more time than was expected.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 340.

(3) *Ibid*, II, 565.

(4) *Report of Commission on Frontier Forts*, I, 70. "It was the most important fort between the Susquehanna and Lehigh Rivers, owing to the fact that it was about equally distant from each, and also because it was on the main road to Shamokin and protected the most populous portion of the entire region."

the mountains, at times on the north. Both sides were occupied if it seemed to be necessary. They were sometimes merely the reconstructed defences of the settlers. This is particularly true of the smaller posts. (1) A stockade thrown about a convenient farmhouse and garrisoned by a few soldiers was sufficient.

The Moravians seated within the forks of the Delaware were obliged for the safety of themselves and their neighbors, many of whom had fled to them, to fortify their settlement with stockades and set military watches. Wishing to continue the same until the danger was over, they applied to the governor for a commission. This was duly granted them giving full power and authority to take and use arms against any Indians or other enemies of the province. (2)

The chief forts west of the Susquehanna were Lyttleton, Shirley, Granville, and Pomfret Castle, (3) erected about twenty miles apart. The first mentioned was situated on the new road which was being laid out to the Ohio at a distance of about twenty miles from the settlements. Twenty miles north of Lyttleton was Fort Shirley on Aughwick Creek, somewhat larger than the former and situated on the old traders' path to the Ohio. Next in order was Fort Granville, fifteen miles northeast of Fort Shirley at a narrow pass where the Juniata breaks through the mountains. The northernmost of the four was Pomfret Castle, situated fifteen miles from Fort Granville and twelve west of the Susquehanna River. The spaces between these were filled in with smaller forts in the same manner as east of the Susquehanna.

The building of these forts soon used up the sixty thousand pounds which had been appropriated, and more was required for the adequate defence of the province. (4) Yet the assembly carefully guarded each succeeding outlay. They, however, supplied from time to time enough money to guard the frontier in a semi-efficient way (5) and lend some assistance in driving the French from the western part of the province.

Fort Augusta, another important post, was built at the

(1) *Ibid*, I, 4.
(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., II, 704.
(3) *Ibid*, 1st ser., II, 569.
(4) *Ibid*, 557, 565.
(5) *Ibid*, III, 101.

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Fort Augusta, another important post, was built at the

(1) *Ibid*, I, 4.
(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., II, 304.
(3) *Ibid*, 1st ser., II, 656.
(4) *Ibid*, 667, 683.
(5) *Ibid*, III, 101.

forks of the Susquehanna in the summer of 1756. (1) It was erected primarily to protect the inhabitants about Sunbury and serve as a connecting link between the eastern and western lines. It was here that the friendly Indians had requested the building of a fort, about which they promised to gather and assist in the protection of the frontier or in any other operations that might be made against the French.

When the Revolutionary War began and the Indians, incensed by the encroachment on their lands, embraced the English cause, one of the first districts to suffer from their depredations was that inhabited by the Scotch Irish on the west branch of the Susquehanna. These energetic frontiersmen, with the love of liberty instilled into their systems by life on the frontier, had eagerly taken up arms in the cause of independence; and although their families were often poorly provided with the necessaries of life and exposed to the mercy of the savages, they had departed for Boston in order to take part in active service. In order to protect their families, a stockade was erected at each important settlement along the river. Some were provided with troops, others were defended by the settlers of the neighborhood. (2) Fort Muncy, erected at the bend of the west branch, was the most important; while Fort Augusta acted as a rear post and distributing point for troops and supplies. It was to this fort that the settlers retreated when they had been driven out of the others.

Of the early western forts Ligonier and Pitt were the most important. The first of these was erected by General Forbes during his expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1758. (3) During Pontiac's War, in spite of its dilapidated condition, it was one of the few spots which did not fall into

(1) DARLINGTON, *Fort Pitt*, 146. Bouquet to Major Gladwin, August 1756: "I also propose to Build a fort at Shamokin, at the forks of Susquehanna, as soon as the season will admit a passage up the river, for the mountains north of the Kitectiny are quite impassible for carriages. This is what our friendly Indians request'd of me at the late interview, and say they will collect themselves together under the protection of such a fort, and readily assist us in the defence of our frontier, or in any attempt that we shall make upon the French encroachments."

(2) DAY, *Hist. Coll.*, 451.

(3) *Olden Time*, reprinting Arthur Lee's *Journal*, II, 335.

the hands of the Indians. (1) In the Revolution it figured as a place of refuge for the settlers. (2) The Indians, however, passed it and murdered many of the inhabitants further eastward.

On account of the important place which Fort Pitt occupies in the history of Western Pennsylvania I shall relate its history with somewhat greater detail. As has already been pointed out, the proprietors in 1750 recommended that a small stone fort should be erected on the Ohio, and expressed themselves as willing to aid in its maintenance. (3) In April, 1751, George Croghan was sent with a present to the Ohio Indians. One of his speeches, prepared by Weiser, recommended the building of a fort on the Ohio. (4) This was, however, considered too strongly expressed and he was given private instructions by the governor not to make it but to sound the Indians on the point. (5) He obeyed orders and such Indians as he approached on the subject informed him that the building of a fort had been agreed upon between themselves and the Onondaga Council. They requested publicly the building of such a fort at the forks

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(1) DARLINGTON, *Fort Pitt*, 146. Bouquet to Major Gladwin, August 28, 1763: "Ligonier, a post of great consequence to us, was defended with a handful of men by Lieut. Blane, and Capt. Ecuyer baffled all their efforts here (Fort Pitt), though the fort was open on three sides; the floods having undermined the sodwork, the rampart had tumbled in the ditch. He palisaded and fraised the whole, raised the parapet all around, and in a short time with a small garrison he has made it impregnible for savages."

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., VII, 345.

(3) *Col. Rec.*, V, 515. Extract from letter of proprietors: "I think an House with thick walls of Stone with small Bastions might be built at no very great Expense, as it is little matter how rough it is within side; or a wall of that sort perhaps fifty feet square, with a small house in the middle of it, might perhaps do better. The command of this might be given to the principle Indian trader, and he be obliged to keep Four or Six men at it who might serve him in it and the House to be his Magazine for Goods. If something of this sort can be done we shall be willing to be at the expense of four hundred Pounds Currency for the building of it, and one hundred Pounds a Year for keeping some men with a few Arms and some Powder."

(4) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 268

(5) *Col. Rec.*, V, 522.

of the Ohio to protect them and the English traders. (1) Croghan reported these facts but the government refused to accept the Indians' proposal and condemned Croghan for making such a report. (2) They argued that it was not the intention of the Indians but that they had been imposed upon. How far private interests could influence Croghan to draw the Indians in an underhanded manner to his viewpoint can not be determined. The erection of such a fort would certainly have been a great advantage to him as a trader. Both the government and Weiser denied that he had any authority to treat with the Indians on the subject. (3) Croghan maintained that he had such instructions. The Colonial Records support him. (4) The fact that the Indians constantly repeated their request for the building of the fort is another strong argument against the charge that he had seduced them. (5)

The proprietors, convinced that the assembly would never do anything in the matter, instructed Governor Hamilton to assist the Governor of Virginia to erect a fort there, but under protest that such a settlement would not prejudice Pennsylvania's right to the territory. (6) On July 1, 1754, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia wrote to Governor Hamilton strongly urging the erection of a fort beyond the Alleghenies, stating that he had a force ready to cross the

(1) THWAITES, *Early Western Travels*, I, 54. George Croghan to the governor, December 16, 1750: "We have seen but very few of the chiefs of the Indians they being all out a hunting, but those we have seen are of opinion that their Brothers the English ought to have a Fort on this River to secure the Trade, for they think it will be dangerous for the Traders to travel the Roads for fear of being surprised by some of the French and French Indians, as they expect nothing else but a war with the French next Spring."

(2) *Col. Rec.*, V, 547. Assembly to Governor, August 21, 1751: "The Information of Conrad Weiser and Alexander Montour on their arrival in Town since the Governor's Message of the thirteenth Instant, we suppose have given the Governor as well as the House Reason to believe that the Request inserted in George Crogan's Journal which the Governor was pleased to lay before the House, as made by the Indians at Ohio to this Government, to erect a strong Trading House in their Country as well as the danger 'tis there said they apprehend from the Attempts of the French, have been misunderstood, or misrepresented by the Person in whom the Government confided for the Management of the Treaty."

(3) *N Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 268.

(4) *Col. Rec.*, V, 522, 529, 537, 547.

(5) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 269.

(6) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 265.

mountains, and inviting the cooperation of Pennsylvania. (1) Governor Hamilton urged that Governor Dinwiddie should be supported, but the assembly evaded the subject and adjourned leaving the Virginians to fight their battles alone.

The force from Virginia proceeded to the forks of the Ohio and were engaged in the erection of a stockade when they were driven off by the appearance of a French force under Contracoeur, who then erected Fort Duquesne at this point. The Virginians retreated to a place between Chestnut and Laurel Ridges, called the Great Meadows, and there erected Fort Necessity, a log breast work one hundred feet each way and partly surrounded by a shallow ditch. (2) From this they marched out to dislodge the French, but were driven back, themselves besieged, and forced to capitulate. The French, allowing the Virginians to retire and having demolished the fort, then returned to Fort Duquesne. (3)

Braddock's expedition in 1755 and its results are too well known to require any comment. General Shirley suggested that a second attempt to take the fort should be made this same year, but it was necessary to postpone it, among other reasons, on account of the backwardness of the Pennsylvania Assembly. (4) By February, 1756, however, the assembly had assumed such an attitude that Governor Morris thought that they would willingly take part in an expedition against Fort Duquesne if the northern colonies would provide entirely for the Crown Point project. (5) Gen-

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 137. Governor Dinwiddie to Governor Hamilton, July 31, 1754: "I think the sooner we endeavor to make a Settlement and build a Fort the other side of the Allegheny Mountains the better, for if we allow them a quiet Settlement their numbers will greatly increase in the Spring. We have now three months fit for marching and action. I would fain hope our Force will be at Mills Creek before the twentieth of the month, and shall be glad if reinforced from your Colony: if you send some Companies they may safely march after our Forces over the Mountains."

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., XII, 420.

(3) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 50.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 300. Governor Morris to Governor Dinwiddie, August 10, 1755: "I rec'd letters last night by Express from General Shirley, acquainting me that he had been informed that this Province, Virginia & Maryland, had given considerably towards another expedition, he thought proper to send orders to be forwarded to Col. Dunbar, to make a second attempt upon Fort Duquesne, but I am of Opinion this cannot be put in practice before next Year, from the backwardness of my assemblies in particular to do what is so Strongly in their Interest to Comply with."

(5) *Ibid*, 570.

eral Shirley, however, had now come to the conclusion that the reduction of Niagara and the other northern forts was more important than that of Duquesne: for if the English should get control of the Great Lakes, the southern forts would be cut off and forced to capitulate. (1) The emphasis was for some time put on the northern war, and it was not until 1758 that a second expedition set out against Fort Duquesne. The French, upon the approach of the English, destroyed their works and fled.

Near the ruins of Fort Duquesne an English Fort was then erected and named Fort Pitt in honor of the great English premier. It was surrounded by a rampart of earth, which on the two inland sides was supported by a wall nearly perpendicular, so that it presented an almost impregnible obstacle to any enemy that was likely to be encountered in those parts. On the other sides the rampart was only an incline of earth with a row of pickets about its base. Around the whole was a wide ditch which could be filled with water from the river. (2) It was garrisoned by some three hundred provincials, one half of whom were Pennsylvanians and the other half Virginians. (3)

All was quiet on the Ohio until 1763. Then, after faint mutterings of danger, the storm of Pontiac's War swept down upon the fort. It was suddenly besieged by over four hundred Indians. Captain Ecuyer, taking warning from the vague rumors, was not entirely unprepared. (5) His garrison consisted of 250 men, half regulars and half militia, in good spirits and determined to succeed. The fort was provided with sixteen cannon. Rations were low; so as many cattle as possible were collected about the fort to serve as food and prevent their falling into the enemy's

(1) *Ibid*, 572.

(2) *Olden Time*, I, 196.

(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 693. General Stanwix to Governor Hamilton: "The works are carried on to that degree of defence which was at first prepared for this year, so that I am now by degrees forming a winter garrison, which is to consist of 300 provincials."

(4) DARLINGTON, *Fort Pitt*, 145.

(5) *Ibid*, 186. Captain Ecuyer to Colonel Bouquet, May 3, 1763, "I fear that the affair is general. I tremble for our posts. I fear according to the reports that I am surrounded by Indians. I neglect nothing to receive them well, and I expect to be attacked tomorrow morning. God wills it, I am passably ready."

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(1) Ibid, 272.

(2) Olden Time, I, 194.

(3) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., III, 682. General Shirley to Governor Hamilton: "The works are carried on to that degree of defence which was at first proposed for this year, so that I am now by degrees forming a winter garrison, which is to consist of 300 provincials."

(4) Darlington, Fort Pitt, 145.

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hands. (1) We are apt to be amused as we read of Captain Ecuyer's attempt to catch Indians in beaver traps, (2) but his ingenuity and determination, together with the good will and faithfulness of his command, held the fort until it could be relieved by Colonel Bouquet.

Soon after this war the English ministry began to act upon the assumption that the colonies should protect their own frontiers. Lord Hillsborough recommended that Fort Pitt, with some others, should be left to the colonies to garrison if they considered it necessary. (3) In October, 1772, the fort was abandoned by the English and the material in it sold to Alexander Ross and William Thompson for fifty pounds. (4) The inhabitants, alarmed at the abandonment, requested the retention of a small garrison, but General Gage refused to comply. They then petitioned the assembly that, as evacuation would surely retard settlement, a garrison should be provided (5) for this post, but the assembly refused (6) to act. The fort, however, was not destroyed. It was retained by the purchasers until in 1774 it was seized by Doctor John Connelly who, (7) acting under instructions from Governor Dunmore of Virginia, planned to control the frontier. As he was soon arrested and imprisoned, (8) the fort fell again into the hands of the Pennsylvanians. Throughout the Revolution it was held by the Americans.

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(1) *Ibid*, 128. Captain Ecuyer to Colonel Bouquet, June 2, 1763: "My garrison consists in all of 250 men, as many regulars as militia all very determined to conquer or die, our men are high spirited and I am glad to see their good will and with what celerity they work. I have little flour, the inhabitants receive half rations of bread and a little more meat, to the poorer women and children a little Indian corn and some meat. I manage as well as I can. I have collected all the animals of the inhabitants and placed them under our eye. We kill to spare our provisions, for the last resource and in order that the savages shall not profit by our animals.---- I have distributed tomahawks to the inhabitants; I have also gathered up all their beaver traps which are arranged along the rampart that is not finished."

(2) *Ibid*, 131. Captain Ecuyer to Colonel Bouquet, June 16, 1763: "I have collected all the beaver traps which could be found with our merchants and they were placed in the evening outside the palisades. I would be pleased to send you one with the leg of a savage, but they have not given me this satisfaction."

(3) FRANKLIN, *Works*, IV, 128.

(4) *Olden Time*, II, 95.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., III, 573.

(6) *Col. Rec.*, X, 71.

(7) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., IV, 477, 478, 484, etc.

(8) *Col. Rec.*, XI, 196.

A plot by some Tories to destroy it in 1778 was detected and the leaders were punished. (1) Supplies were scarce. (2) The problem of securing food and clothing appears to have been much more difficult than that of defending the inhabitants.

After the Revolution, the fort, on account of decreasing dangers, lost its importance until in 1791 another Indian war began. A new fort, called Fort Fayette, was now erected. It stood on the bank of the Allegheny about a quarter of a mile further up than the old one, and consisted of a stockade with barracks and a block house in one of the angles. (3) Even after 1800 a small garrison was maintained (4) here.

Soon after evacuating Fort Duquesne in 1758 the French also withdrew their forces from Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presqu'Isle in order to strengthen Niagara which was being vigorously attacked by Sir William Johnson. The English were thus left in full possession of western Pennsylvania. The forts in the northwest were garrisoned and held until their destruction by the Indians in 1763. Forts Ligonier and Bedford were also for many years important in keeping open the road to the west. During the Revolution a number of new forts were erected in the West, grouped about Pittsburgh as a base. The most important were Fort Armstrong at Kittanning (5) and Fort McIntosh at

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(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., VI, 507.

(2) *Olden Time*, II, 378. Daniel Broadhead to Richard Peters, December 7, 1780: "Indeed, I am so well convinced that the inhabitants on this side the mountains cannot furnish half enough meat to supply the troops, that I have risked the sending a party of hunters to kill buffalo at little Canhawa, and to lay in the meat until I can detach a party to bring it in, which cannot be done before spring."
Ibid, 382. A letter from Daniel Broadhead to Joseph Reed complaining of the lack of clothing for the soldiers.

(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., XII, 437.
Pittsburg Gazette, May 19, 1792: "The fort began last winter at this place, stands on the Allegheny River within about 100 yards of the bank, on a beautiful rising ground, about one-quarter of a mile higher up than the old garrison of Fort Pitt. It is completely stockaded in, and one range of barracks built, a block house in one of the angles finished, and the remainder in forwardness."

(4) MICHAUX, *Travels*, 72.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., VIII, 38.

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Ibid, 282. A letter from Daniel Broadhead to Joseph Reed complaining of the lack of clothing for the soldiers.

(3) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., XII, 427.
Pittsburg Gazette, May 19, 1797: "The fort began last winter at this place, stands on the Allegheny River within about 100 yards of the bank, on a beautiful plain ground, about one quarter of a mile higher up than the old garden of Fort Pitt. It is completely stockaded in, and one range of barracks built, a block house in one of the angles finished, and the remainder is forwarded."

(4) McCauley, Travels, 72.

(5) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., VIII, 55.

the mouth of the Beaver River. (1)

The construction of forts did not stop with the Revolution. A new one was erected at Venango in 1787, (2) about one mile above the mouth of French Creek. (3) It was a small fort armed with one cannon and garrisoned with one company. A third fort (4) was erected here in 1795 during the process of settling the northwestern part of the state. (5) At the same time Fort Le Boeuf was rebuilt, (6) and two companies raised to garrison it. (7) In 1794 an attempt was made to settle Presqu' Isle but it was prevented by the opposition of the Indians, instigated probably by the British. (8) During the next year, however, two block houses were erected to protect a small garrison established to protect the surveyors who were engaged in laying out the lands.

Doddridge gives us an excellent description of one of these frontier forts. "The reader will understand by this term, not only a place of defence, but the residence of a small

(1) *Ibid*, 32. General McIntosh to E. V. P. Bryan, December 20, 1778: "I erected a good strong Fort for the Reception and Security of Prisoners and stores, upon the Indian side of the Ohio below Beaver Creek with Barracks for a Regiment; and another on the Muskingum, which I expect will keep the savages in awe, and secure the peace of the frontiers effectually in this quarter hereafter if they are well supported and also facilitate any future enterprises that may be attempted that way."

(2) *Pittsburg Gazette*, November 22, 1788: "Fort Franklin—off French Creek, near to the post formerly called Venango, is a small, strong fort, with one cannon, was erected in 1787, and is garrisoned with one company.
This post was established for the purpose of defending the frontiers of Pennsylvania, which are exposed by the facility by which the Indians can cross from Lake Erie, either to French Creek or the Judaggue lake and the Coneawango branch, and thence descend the rapid river Allegheny."

(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., VI, 795.

(4) Or fourth if there were two French forts at this place.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., XII, 463.

(6) *Ibid*, 2nd ser., VI, 739. Major Denny to Governor Mifflin; July 4, 1794: "Sir: I had the honor of addressing you last on the 20th ult., since which we have been busily employed in erecting a stockade fort, the plan of which will be sent you by the next conveyance. We are now beyond the power of any body of hostile Indians that may attempt to strike us, and every day we will be getting stronger,, provided we can keep our men together."

(7) *Ibid*, VI, 783, 806.

(8) *Pittsburg Gazette*, August 16, 1794, quoting a letter from Le Boeuf: "——— once a week we have people at Presq' Isle, and the British watch the place as close as we do; and some mornings when we discharge our cannon they return the fire from their vessel, which we distinctly hear."

the mouth of the Beaver River. (1)

The construction of forts did not stop with the Revolution. A new one was erected at Venango in 1787, (2) about one mile above the mouth of French Creek. (3) It was a small fort armed with one cannon and garrisoned with one company. A third fort (4) was erected here in 1795 during the process of settling the northwestern part of the state. (5) At the same time Fort Le Boeuf was rebuilt, (6) and two companies raised to garrison it. (7) In 1794 an attempt was made to settle Presque Isle but it was prevented by the opposition of the Indians, instigated probably by the British. (8) During the next year, however, two block houses were erected to protect a small garrison established to protect the surveyors who were engaged in laying out the lands.

Doddridge gives us an excellent description of one of these frontier forts. The reader will understand by this term, not only a place of defence, but the residence of a small

(1) Ibid, 32. General Meriwoth to E. V. E. Ryan, December 20, 1791: "I erected a good stoney fort for the Rangerian and Security of Prisoners and stores, upon the Indian side of the Ohio below Beaver Creek with Barracks for a Regiment and another on the Muskingum, which I expect will keep the savages in awe, and secure the peace of the frontiers effectually in this quarter hereafter if they are well supported and also facilitate any future waterprises that may be attempted that way."

(2) Pittsburg Gazette, November 23, 1788: "Fort Franklin—of French Creek, now to the post formerly called Venango, is a small, strong fort, with one cannon, was erected in 1787, and is garrisoned with one company.

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(3) Pa. Arch., 2nd ser., VI, 795.

(4) Or fourth if there were two French forts at this place.

(5) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., XII, 423.

(6) Ibid, 2nd ser., VI, 728. Major Denny to Governor Mifflin; July 4, 1794: "Sirr: I had the honor of addressing you last on the 20th ult., since which we have been busily employed in erecting a stockade fort, the plan of which will be sent you by the next conveyance. We are now beyond the power of any body of hostile Indians that may attempt to attack us, and every day we will be getting stronger, provided we can keep our men together."

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number of families belonging to the same neighborhood. As the Indian mode of warfare was an indiscriminate slaughter of all ages, and both sexes, it was as requisite to provide for the safety of the women and children as for that of the men.

"The fort consisted of cabins, block houses, and stockades. A range of cabins commonly formed one side at least of the fort. Divisions, or partitions of logs, separated the cabins from each other. The walls on the outside were ten or twelve feet high, the slopes of the roof being turned wholly inward. A very few of these cabins had puncheon floors, the greater part were earthen. The block houses were built at the angles of the fort. They projected about two feet beyond the outer walls of the cabins and stockades. Their upper stores were about eighteen inches every way larger in dimension than the under one, leaving an opening at the commencement of the second story to prevent the enemy from making lodgment under their walls. In some forts, instead of block houses, the angles of the fort were furnished with bastions. A large folding gate made of thick slabs, nearest the spring, closed the fort. The stockades, bastions, cabins and block house walls, were furnished with port holes at proper heights and distances. The whole of the outside was made completely bullet proof. It may be truly said that necessity is the mother of invention; for the whole of this work was made without the aid of a single nail or spike of iron; and for this reason, such things were not to be had. In some cases, less exposed, a single block house, with a cabin or two, constituted the whole fort. Such places of refuge may appear very trifling to those who have been in the habit of seeing the formidable military garrisons of Europe and America; but they answered the purpose, as the Indians had no artillery. They seldom attacked, and scarcely ever took one of them." (1)

In June, 1756, James Young inspected the eastern forts and made a return of their condition to the government. (2) He reports that the fort at Northkill was "intended for a square abt. 32 ft. Each way, at Each Corner is a half Bastion, of very little Service to Flank the Curtains, the Stockades are very ill fixed in the Ground, and open in many Places; within is a very bad Log house for the People, it has no chimney, and can afford but little shelter in bad weather." Only nine of the fourteen men were found on

(1) DAY, *Hist. Coll.*, 661. Reprinting Doddridge's Notes.
(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 675-681.

duty; and the woods were not cleared away above forty yards from the fort. Provisions consisted of flour and rum for four weeks; military supplies amounted to eight muskets, four rounds of powder and lead per man, fifteen blankets, and three axes.

Fort Lebanon, at a more important point, was reported in much better condition, well stockaded, with good bastions and one wall piece. Within was a strong house and two other houses built by the country people who had taken refuge there. Munitions consisted of twenty-eight good muskets, forty blankets, one axe, and one wall piece. There was food sufficient for a month.

The fort above Allemingа, another of the less important points, was found in bad condition, poorly stockaded and totally unfit for defence. Munitions, however, were quite plentiful; there were twenty-eight good muskets and twelve rounds of ammunition per man. Fort Allen on the other hand was well stockaded, with four good bastions and one swivel gun. The woods were cleared all around for a considerable distance, and throughout it was in good condition for defence. Within the fort there were good barracks and a guard room. Munitions consisted of twenty-seven muskets, twenty rounds of powder, and sixty rounds of lead, besides twenty rounds of filled cartridges for each of the twenty-five men.

These are only a few from the number of which he reported but they may be taken as fairly typical. The more important places like Forts Allen, Lebanon, and Henry were well constructed and highly efficient; but the smaller forts were often carelessly built and poorly supplied with food and ammunition. In fact it is almost unbelievable that these hastily constructed posts with only a few rounds of ammunition per man could have defended the frontier as well as they did. Much must have depended upon the Indian's natural fear of anything like an ambuscade or a fortification.

The same criticisms may be applied at a later date to the western forts. Major Denny in 1794 reported the condition of Fort Franklin as follows: "I am not surprised at Polhemus' alarm. The fort is worse than any frontier station you ever seen, & that for the Block House, which is far from being the best, it would be infinitely worse than nothing at all. The pickets might do to inclose a garden, and do look more like a fence than anything else. They are placed in the form of a square without anything to defend the curtain's flanks, & in the bottom of a ditch, along which

five hundred Indians might lay perfectly secure." (1) It was put into somewhat better condition by the commissioners who had been appointed to lay out the town at Presqu' Isle, (2) but its position at so great a distance from the Allegheny River was still a disadvantage. (3)

But in spite of the dilapidated condition in which the forts were often found, and in spite of the insufficient garrisons with which the commanders were often forced to be contented, they were the most important element in frontier defence. They were points of irritation which drove the Indians farther and farther westward; they were places of refuge where the inhabitants in times of danger could find an almost certain security.

Ammunition and Supplies.

The equipment of a soldier was very simple. It was a distinct advantage to be lightly clad, armed, and accoutred. A watch coat, a waist coat, a pair of woolen overalls, a shirt, a pair of shoes and a blanket sufficed for bed and clothing. (4) The gun furnished him was often poor in quality and condition. Benjamin Franklin said of the arms furnished the frontiersmen in 1755: "I wish they were better; but they are well fortified, will bear a good charge, and I should imagine they would do good service with swan or buck shot, if not so good for single ball." (5) The riflemen

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., VI, 705.

(2) *Ibid*, 728. Andrew Ellicott to Governor Mifflin, June 29, 1794: "On my arrival there, the place appeared to be in such a defenseless situation that, with the concurrence of Captain Denny and the officer commanding at the fort, we remained there some time, and employed the troops in making it more tenable. It may now be considered as defensible, provided the number of men is increased. The Garrison at present consists of twenty-five men, one half of whom are unfit for duty, and it is my opinion that double that number would not be more than sufficient."

(3) *Ibid*, 795. Report of Andrew Ellicott, December 30, 1794: "The present Fort is erected on French Creek, about one mile from the old one, which was built by the British. I have never yet (tho' frequently made the inquiry) been able to discover the reason why the old works were abandoned and a new position taken, without one visible advantage to justify it, but, on the contrary, attended with many obvious and important disadvantages. The old work commanded the Allegheny River just below the mouth of French Creek, and the present can only command that creek, and when the waters are low, loaded boats cannot be brought within three quarters of a mile of it."

(4) *Col. Rec.*, XIII, 143.

(5) FRANKLIN, *Works*, II, 240.

raised in 1792 refused to take the (1) muskets furnished them, but a compromise was effected by which they were furnished with rifles as their own property, the price of them to be deducted from their pay.

During the years 1755 and 1756 twenty-nine cannon, fourteen swivels, and 4789 small arms, with great quantities of powder, lead, flints, and tomahawks were purchased with the money granted for the king's use, and sent to the several parts of Pennsylvania. (2) Most of these went to the frontiers. At the close of the war 1742 muskets, with about the same number of bayonets, cartridge boxes, and gun worms were returned to the provincial government by persons to whom they had been loaned. (3)

Supplies were almost chronically lacking. Even so important a place as Fort Augusta had no definite source but the soldiers were compelled to scour the country and obtain food where ever it could be found, much to the detriment of the work on the fort and the ranging of the woods. (4) The question of ammunition was still more serious; at times there were only three pounds per man. (5) Clothing was furnished in no more abundance. (6)

According to the testimony of Arthur Lee the supplies which were provided were not always used to advantage. The powder at Fort Pitt in 1784 was found to have spoiled. "The commanding officer alleged that it was the business of the garrison to guard the stores only, and not to keep them from spoiling." (7) Soldiers, too, were obliged to go

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 711. Major McCully to Colonel Biddle, March 11, 1792: "The Soldiers, being enlisted as Riflemen, refused to take the muskits, and it had liked to have caused some difficulty; however, the officers and myself agreed to purchase a number of rifles, the soldiers agreeing to receive them as their property, and giving power of attorney to stop as much of their pay as would answer for the sum."

(2) *Ibid*, 1st ser., III, 25.

(3) *Ibid*, 2nd ser., II, 712.

(4) *Ibid*, 1st ser., II, 780.

(5) *Ibid*, III, 352.

(6) *Ibid*, 2nd ser., VI, 791. Captain Denny to Governor Mifflin, November 1, 1794: "For want of clothing, particularly shoes, there are numbers of men who are now almost useless. The term of enlistment is too long to depend upon them providing for themselves, especially when they can receive their eight months' pay before they have served one. No restraint in this case is a very great injury to the service."

(7) *Olden Time*, II, 340.

without sufficient equipment while plenty was lying in the public stores. (1)

The lack of supplies along the frontier was to a great extent due to the difficulty of transportation. Roads were bad or nonexistant. At the time when supplies were in greatest demand, the convoys were most subject to attack by the Indians. Expeditions, too, were greatly retarded by their baggage trains for which a road must often be carved through the forest. On account of these difficulties the cost of transportation was extremely high. (2) After the construction of roads had greatly lessened the difficulties, a woeful inefficiency still at times retarded shipments. (3)

Military and Scouting Expeditions.

Pennsylvania did not stand wholly upon the defensive but at various times sent out scouting or military expeditions into the enemy's country. The earliest of these with

(1) *Ibid*, 341. Reprinting Arthur Lee's Journal: "Col Harmar, who commanded the troops that were equipping for the treaty, came in; and upon my asking him if the troops were provided with what was necessary, he said no, not even with blankets. The clothier general, upon being applied to, had informed him that they must be purchased. We told him that there were thousands rotting in the public store, and directed him to go there immediately and furnish his corps, which he did.

"The reason for all this is, that there is a profit in purchasing, and none in issuing out of the public stores."

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 139. Gevernor to Assembly, January, 1750: "The money voted at your last sessions as a present to the Indians at Ohio has been laid to the best advantage in goods proper to the occasion. But as all the money given for this service was invested in the goods, and no provision made that I know of to pay the charge of their conveyance to Ohio, I must desire you to think of this and provide accordingly.

"The sum demanded for their Transportation is Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds, which appears to me to be very high; but by all the Enquiry I have been able to make, I do not find I can get it done for less by any Persons in whom I can place a confidence."

(3) *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I, 476. Colonel George Muter to the Governor, January 31, 1781: "The wagons are ready to start, that are to carry out the necessarys for the forces in the Western Department, and instructions with respect to the delivery of the goods they carry are wanted. I am incapable of even originating instructions, as I know no more of the matter, than that the goods are to be carried to Fort Pitt, but am entirely ignorant of anything further. I am informed that Major Quirk has said he cannot give the necessary instructions. I beg leave to add, that Mr. Rose informs me, the waggoners refuse to move, unless some spirits are furnished them and a satisfactory provision made for their being paid. These are matters I do not know what to do in, therefore have I been induced to mention them to your Excellency."

which we are concerned is that made by Conrad Weiser in 1738. In November, 1747, a delegation of Ohio Indians had visited Philadelphia and requested that an agent should be sent to them for the purpose of holding a council. They were given a promise that Conrad Weiser would be sent early the next spring. He accordingly made the journey with a considerable present from the government, and accompanied by George Croghan who as a trader was well acquainted with the country and its roads. (1) He was instructed to learn the number, situation, disposition, and strength of the various Indian tribes, and whether they were likely to be friends, neutrals, or enemies in the impending struggle with the French. The Indians reported 780 warriors and expressed themselves as very friendly to the English.

During the winter of 1753-1754 John Pattin was sent to the Ohio Country on a somewhat similar mission. He was instructed to learn what the French were doing, their numbers and location, and what forts they had built or intended to build. (2) He was to take account of the western roads, learn the number of the Indians and whether they inclined toward the French or toward the English, obtain the names of those who carried whisky to the Indians, learn what quantity of arms and ammunition had been sent to the Ohio Indians by the Governor of Virginia, and find out whether any measures had been decided upon for frontier defence. The trip was made, the desired information set down in a diary and delivered to the governor in February, 1754. (3)

In 1758, in order to facilitate Forbes' expedition, the government began to lay plans to withdraw the Indians from the French interest. After some search for a suitable messenger to send to them, Christian Frederick Post was chosen. He was a plain honest man who had (4) lived as a missionary among the Indians for seventeen years, and therefore knew their language perfectly. About the middle of July he received orders from the governor to go to the Delaware,

(1) *Col. Rec.*, V, 290-292.

(2) *Col. Rec.*, V, 707.

(3) *Ibid*, 730. Minutes of Council: "The Governor ordered the Secretary to inform the Council that Andrew Montour and John Patten were come from the River Ohio; ——— that the transactions with the Indians were contained in a Journal sent by Mr. Croghan and in a diary taken by Mr. Patten, which he desired might be read and sent to the House."

(4) THOMPSON, *Causes of Alienation*, 129.

Shawanese, and Mingo Indians on the Ohio to persuade them, if possible, to withdraw from the French interest. He proceeded west by way of Fort Augusta and the old Shamokin Trail, was kindly received by the Indians and protected against the French who planned to have him either killed or delivered to them as a prisoner. He was, however, unsuccessful in his mission. (1) In October he was directed to make a second attempt, following Forbes' army to the west. He arrived at Loyalhanna on the seventh of November and from there proceeded to the Allegheny where he was now wholly successful. (2)

To give accounts of the various military expeditions against the French and Indians does not fall within the compass of our task. References have already been made to Washington's and Braddock's expeditions of 1754 and 1755 respectively. In 1756 Colonel Armstrong, commander of the forces west of the Susquehanna River, made a successful expedition to destroy the Indians' base of supplies at Kittanning. Forbes' capture of Fort Duquesne has already been mentioned, as has Colonel Bouquet's relief of Fort Pitt in 1763.

During the Revolution various offensive expeditions were made against the Indians. General McIntosh in the fall of 1778 started from Fort Pitt to destroy the Indian towns about Sandusky, but the season was so far advanced that he was forced to give up the project. (3) Colonel Broadhead, setting out from Fort Pitt on August 11, 1779, with a force of about six hundred men destroyed the Indian villages and corn fields in the Allegheny Valley. (4) At the same time General John Sullivan was engaged in a similar expedition against the Six Nations, proceeding by way of the Susquehanna Valley. He destroyed many Indian towns and laid waste their cornfields, thus embarassing all future operations against the northern frontier. (5) Further expeditions were contemplated but given up upon the recommendation of General Washington. (6)

Later Years

After the Revolution three new elements entered into the problem of defence. The first of these was the settle-

(1) THWAITES, *Early Western Travels*, I, 185-233. Reprinting the journal of the first journey.
(2) *Ibid*, 234-291. Reprinting the journal of the second journey.
(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., VI, 670.
(4) *Olden Time*, II, 309-310.
(5) *Ibid*, 308.
(6) *Col. Rec.*, XIII, 380.

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(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., VI, 679.
(4) *Olden Time*, II, 209-210.
(5) *Ibid*, 308.
(6) *Col. Rec.*, XIII, 386.

ment of Ohio, the second the assumption by the general government of responsibility for frontier defence, and third the settlement of the Pennsylvania lands northwest of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers.

The Revolution had hardly closed before emigrants began to pass down the Ohio River to settle upon the new Congressional lands west of Pennsylvania. Marietta and Cincinnati within a few years were flourishing frontier towns. These settlements tended to push the Indians farther westward and thus free Pennsylvania from the danger of incursions, but at the same time they incensed the former possessors of the soil. Resistance was made during which murders were again committed in western Pennsylvania. It was only by Wayne's victory in 1795 that the western part of the state was wrested from the Indians' hands and entirely secured from Indian depredations.

During the Revolution but to a greater extent after its close the central government began to play an important role in frontier defence. This was inevitable on account of the new frontier stretching across the federal lands as well as on account of the constitutional duties of the federal government. (1) The individual states were henceforth not so much concerned as the Confederation. Thus a second element was interposed to relieve Pennsylvania of the burden of defence. Each state was still required to furnish its quota of men, but operations were directed by the Secretary of War and expenses were met by the general government.

Pennsylvania, however, took the initiative when hostilities began in 1791. The legislature appropriated four thousand pounds to provide for the immediate defence of the frontier, to continue until in the opinion of the governor the measures projected by the United States should give sufficient protection. (2) The governor was authorized to draw orders on the state treasurer for the above mentioned sum and apply the same in such manner as he should judge most proper for carrying the law into effect.

The Secretary of War instructed the lieutenants of the western counties to employ at the expense of the United States as many of the militia by voluntary enlistment or other legal method as in their judgement the protection of their respective counties required. (3) This raised several

(1) *Constitution of the United States*, Art. I, Sec. 2.
(2) *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 95.
(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 646.

legal questions. (1) Could the Secretary of War order out the militia under a Pennsylvania law and direct them to be paid less out of the treasury of the United States than the law under which they served provided? Was not the governor of the state, and not the Secretary of War, the proper person to order out the militia? These questions tended to keep the people from acting with spirit, but they were not pushed to an issue.

The state still had, to some degree at least, the power to accept or reject the federal proposals. In January, 1792, the Secretary of War laid before the governor of Pennsylvania his plan for defensive operations. (2) This was submitted to and approved by the state assembly. In order to aid the measures of the United States the governor was then authorized to engage for six months a number of experienced riflemen from the militia, not exceeding 228, (3) and station them as in his judgement would best protect and defend the western frontier. (4) When the term of the Pennsylvania companies had almost expired, the Secretary of War considered it as politic at least to ask the permission of the governor before allowing the federal officers to recruit among them. (5)

The last problem of frontier defence which presented itself to the state was that of protecting the commissioners who were appointed to lay out the towns of Erie, Franklin, and Waterford. The survey was authorized April 8, 1793. (6) The Indians, who still maintained their claim to the northwestern corner of the state, opposed it. Governor Mifflin, however, purposed to protect the commissioners by means of a draft from the western militia and carry out the establishment in spite of any resistance that might be offered. (7) But in compliance with a request coming from the President of the United States through the Secretary of War and stating that the establishment might complicate the problem of pacifying the western Indians with whom the nation was then at war, he suspended temporarily the execution of the act. (8) All difficulties having at last been removed, commissioners were appointed to make the survey

(1) *Ibid*, 655.
(2) *Ibid*, 4th ser., IV, 216.
(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 686.
(4) *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 196-198.
(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 732.
(6) *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 395-396.
(7) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., VI, 667.
(8) *Ibid*, 668.

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(2) Ibid, 4th ser., IV, 216.
(3) Pa. Arch., 2nd ser., IV, 688.
(4) Statutes at Large, XIV, 195-198.
(5) Pa. Arch., 2nd ser., IV, 782.
(6) Statutes at Large, XIV, 228-229.
(7) Pa. Arch., 2nd ser., VI, 807.
(8) Ibid, 808.

in 1795. (1) The governor on April 18 was empowered to enlist as many men, not exceeding 130, as he thought necessary to protect and assist the commissioners. (2). If a greater force should prove necessary, he was authorized to raise at his discretion a complete company. On account of the alarming reports of Indian hostilities he considered it necessary to raise the additional men; (3) but the survey was made and the land settled without any further Indian opposition.

CONCLUSION

(1) *Statutes at Large,* XV, 337-346.

(2) *Ibid,* 344.

(3) *Pa. Arch.,* 4th ser., IV, 342. Governor Mifflin to Assembly: "Before the Commissioners departed from Pittsburg. The symptons of savage hostility were so alarming, that it became expedient, as well for their protection, as for the general security of the frontiers, to augment the number of state troops, by the additional company which, in a case of emergency, I was empowered to raise. Orders were accordingly issued for that purpose, but you will perceive, on a perusal of the documents relating to the subject, that every step was taken in concert with the general government, and that no precaution was omitted to prevent an accumulation of useless expense, or a continuance of the enlistments, beyond the period of actual necessity."

Notes and Queries.

NOTICE!

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania is desirous of obtaining donations of pictures or photographs showing buildings and localities in Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania a half century and more ago.

Persons wishing to donate the same to the Society will please notify,

WILLIAM H. STEVENSON, President.

Telephone Historical Hall, Schenley 9012.

The United States is today on the eve of national prohibition yet less than a century and a half ago everybody drank intoxicating lipuors and not always in moderation. To Western Pennsylvanians anything shedding light on this habit which was peculiar to their ancestors, is of interest. David Bruce lived in Washington County and contributed a number of poems to the Western Telegraph printed in Washington, Pennsylvania, which were afterward collected and published in a small volume. Among them was a poem written during the height of the Whiskey Insurrection, entitled "To Whiskey"; the book also contained the reply of Hugh Henry Brackenridge of Pittsburgh, which he called, "Whiskey In Answer". The poems can be best appreciated by those who are familiar with the Scotch dialect or who are descended from the Scotch.

TO WHISKEY

By David Bruce.

GREAT Pow'r, that warms the heart and liver,
And puts the bluid a'in a fever,
If dull and heartless I am ever,
A blast o'thee
Makes me as blyth, and brisk, and clever
As ony bee.

I wat ye are a cunning chiel,
O'a' your tricks I ken fu' weel,
For aft ye hae gien me a heel,
And thrown me down,
When I shook hands wi' heart so leel,
Ye wily loun.

When fou o'thee on Scottish grun',
At fairs I've aft' had muckle fun,
An' on my head wi' a guid rung,
Gat mony a crack;
An' mony a braw chiel in my turn,
Laid on his back.

An' here, tho' stick be laid aside,
An' swankies fight in their bare hide;
Let me o'thee ance get a swig,
I'll tak my part,
An' bite and _____, gouge and tread

Wi' a' my heart.
Great strength'ning pow'r, without thy aid
How cou'd log-heaps be ever made?
To tell the truth, I'm sair afraid,
('Twixt ye and me)
We'd want a place to lay our head,
Had'nt been for thee.

But when the chiels are fou' o' thee
Och? how they gar their axes flee,
Then God hae mercy on the tree,
For they hae nane,
Ye'd think (the timber gaes so free)
It rase its lane.-

Without thee how cou'd grass be mawn?
Grain shear'd, and into barn-yards drawn?
An' when auld wives wi' faces thrawn
Ly in the strae,
I doubt, gin ye ware nae at han',
There'd be great wae.

'Twere safer ye had tulzied here,
Wi' chiels that dinna muckle care
To gouge a wee bit, or pu' hair,
And no complain;
But a' the tugs and rugings bear,
Or let alane.

The warst is, but to get a lesson,
If som'ane puts ye i' the session,
To take a prie o' spiritual sneesin
Frae J_____ M_____ M_____n, (1)
Wha'l say o'er ye a back-ward blessing,
When ye're nae willing.

But wha'ist o' ye mak's the verse,
Sae very kittle and sae terse,
That in the *Gazzat* gives me praise?
They say 'tis Bruce;
I canna half sae weel rehearse;
Tak' my excuse.

I'm mair among unlettered jocks
Then well-lear'd doctors wi' their buiks;
Academies and college nuiks
I dinna ken;
And seldom wi' but kintra folks,
Hae I been benn.

Ye canna then expect a phrase,
Like them ye get in poet lays;
For where's the man that now-a-days,
Can sing like Burns;
Whom nature taught her sin strathspeys,
And now she murns.

I dinna like to sign my name,
By that o' Whiskey, fie for shame!

I had a better ane at hame;
In town or city.
Where a' ware glad to get a dram
O' ---------- (2) Aqua Vitae.

(1) Rev. John McMillen.
(2) "H. H. Brackenridge's"

WHISKEY,

In answer.

BY HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE.

YOUR rouse (1) rins blig thro'a'my veins;
I find it at my finger en's:
An' but a gouk that has nae brains,
Wa'd it deny,
That mony a time, baith wit and sense
I can supply,

Far better than the drink ca'd wine;
Wi' me compar'd 'tis wash for swine:
Ae gill is just as guid as nine;
And fills as fou:
It is nae every long sinsyne,
Ye prov'd it true.

That time ye made sae muckle noise,
About the tax they ca' excise;
And got the name o' Whiskey-boys,
Frae laland glakes;
That cam' sae far, nae verra wise,
To gie ye pikes.

Tho' I may say't among oursels,
Ye gaed o'er far wi' your pe'mells,
On N---------- (2) and the guager W--------, (3)
And ither louns,
Far better ye had drank your gills,
And eat your scons.

It was a kittle thing to take
The government sae by the neck,
To thrapple every thing and break
Down rules and laws;
And make the public ship a wreck,
Without guid cause.

But it wou'd tak a leaf and mair
To tell o' a' your virtues rare;
At wedding, gossipping and fair,
Baith great and sma'
Look unco dowff if ye'r na there,
Great soul o' a'

Then foul befa' the ungrateful deil
That wou'd begrudge to pay right weel,
For a' the blessings that ye yiel
In sic a store;
I'd nae turn round upo' my heel
For saxpence more.

(1) Praise.
(2) Gen. John Neville, Inspector of the Revenue whose house and barn were burned by the Insurgents.
(3) Benjamin F. Wells who lived in Fayette County, and was collector for that and Westmoreland county, and who had his house burned by the Insurgents.

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

74—Charter of William Penn,
and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania, passed between the years 1682 and 1700.
Preceded by Duke of York's laws in force from the year 1676 to the year 1682.
Presented by the family of the late William Bradford.

75—Engraving
"The Commemoration of Washington." Drawn and engraved by J. J. Barratet. Published February 22 1816 by B. Tanner, Engraver, Philadelphia, Penna.
Presented by Mrs. Frank H. Murdoch.

76—Map
"Tombleson's Panoramic View of the Thames and Medway." Published by J. Reynolds, London, England. 52x12.
Presented by Mrs. Frank H. Murdoch.

77—The Original Painting
of the first "Wooden-Covered Bridge" crossing the Monongahela and Monongahela Wharf, the old Bakewell glass works, the first public school in Pittsburgh, the site of the Monongahela House, Judge William Wilkins' home. Painted by Leander McCandless, about 1840.
Presented by the family of the late Colonel Edward Jay Allen

78—Photograph
of Oak Alley Reformed Presbyterian Church, taken in 1891.
Presented by Mrs. Mattie Patterson

79—Photograph
of the interior of Oak Alley Reformed Presbyterian Church.
Presented by Mrs. Mattie Patterson.

80—Block of Wood
from Ebenezer Zane's "Old Log Cabin," the first building erected in Wheeling, West Virginia, built in 1767.
This was the cabin to which Elizabeth Zane made her heroic dash for powder, during the siege of Fort Henry, by the British and Indians, in 1777.
Presented by Mrs. Theodocia B. Wynn

81—Ancient Powder Horn
used in 1702.
Presented by Mr. T. M. Walker.

82—Frame
containing photographs of Albert Gallatin, New Geneva, Fayette County, Pa., the town founded by Albert Gallatin in 1797, and named for Geneva, in his native Switzerland. His Tomb at Friendship Hill, near New Geneva, Fayette County, Penna.
Presented by Mrs. Philip Kussart.

83—Old Account Book
used by a trapper, dated November 22, 1737.
Presented by Mrs. R. A. McKee.

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86—Optical War Glass Samples
made by the government in its optical glass factory, which was built, equipped and operated by the national Bureau of Standards, a bureau under the Department of Commerce. The factory is located on Butler Street, at Fortieth, just below Arsenal Park, between Butler Street and the Allegheny River, on grounds belonging to the old arsenal, and in buildings occupied by the Pittsburgh Branch of the Bureau.
Presented by Mr. L. E. Dodd, Assistant Physicist, Bureau of Standards, Pittsburgh Branch.

87—Surveyor's Compass
(The old English type) used in surveying the town of Bradford, McKean County, Penna,
Presented by the family of the late William Bradford

89—Chain
and other Poems, by Alexander Blair Thaw, A Pinehurst Quail Hunt, by the late Alexander Blair Thaw, Jr.
Presented by Mr. Benjamin Thaw.

89—Chain
from the first "Army Truck Train" that passed through Allegheny County in 1917. Found by Samuel Lindsay at the crossing at Glenfield, Penna.
Presented by Hon. A. C. Gumbert.

90—Piece of Shrapnel
from "Stone Wall" and "Bloody Angle" where Pickets charge was repulsed, July 3, 1863, with a loss of 12,000 men out of 17,000.
Presented by Mrs. G. A. Sloan.

91—Gun
An old English flintlock, with the crest of King George, used during the Revolution at the battle of Germantown, also used in the Confederate Army, during the Civil War.
Presented by Dr. John L. Phillips.

92—Volume
containing the reports in the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster, from the XII. to the XXX. year of the reign of our late sovereign "King Charles II." Taken by Jos. Keble of Grays-Inn, May 5, 1685.
Presented by Captain Robert M. Ewing.

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania is greatly indebted to the following for historical volumes sent during the past month—
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Hon. John Dalzell, forty-three volumes.
The family of the late William Bradford, thirty-eight volumes.

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Presented by Hon. A. C. Gumbert.

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from "Three Wall" and "Bloody Angle" where Pickett's charge was repulsed, July 3, 1863, with a loss of 17,000 out of 77,000.
Presented by Mrs. C. A. Glass.

91—Gun
An old English flintlock, with the coat of Kings George used during the Revolution at the battle of Germantown, also used in the Confederate Army, during the Civil War.
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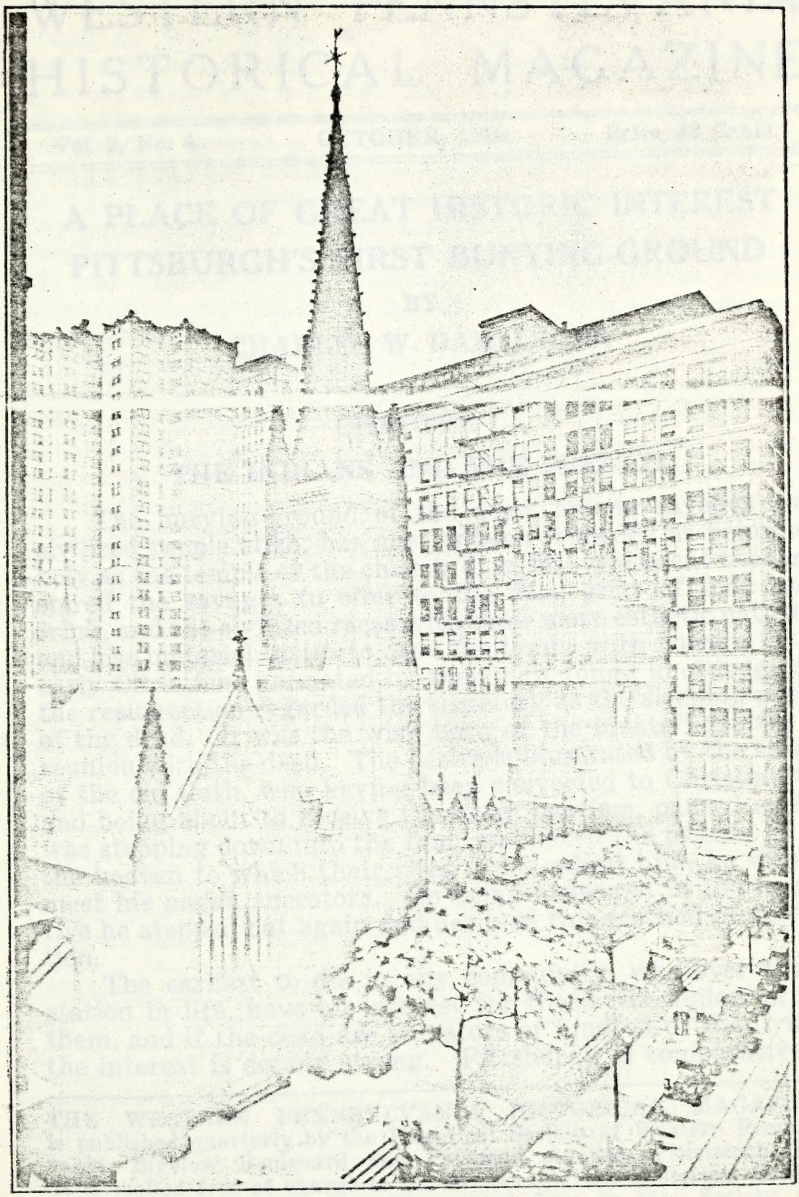

Trinity Court Studio, R. W. Johnston.

Trinity Church and First Presbyterian Church Today.
McCreery Building on the right.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 2, No. 4. OCTOBER, 1919. Price, 40 Cents.

A PLACE OF GREAT HISTORIC INTEREST
PITTSBURGH'S FIRST BURYING-GROUND

BY

CHARLES W. DAHLINGER

CHAPTER I.
THE INDIANS AND THE FRENCH.

The burying-ground of the dead, among savages and civilized people alike, has always been regarded as being as holy as the temple or the church. It is this sentiment that inspired the savages to offer to the dead gifts of food and drink, and the civilized races with their more esthetic natures and less material tastes to deck the tombs with flowers. The early Christians animated by their new found knowledge of the resurrection regarded the cemetery as the sleeping place of the dead. It was the wish born of the innate hope for a reunion with the dead. The desire is illustrated by the story of the old Goth, who having been converted to Christianity and being about to receive Christian baptism, paused as he was stepping down into the font, and asked the priests, if in the heaven to which their rites would admit him, he would meet his pagan ancestors. On being answered in the negative he stepped out again and declined this method of salvation.

The earliest to die in any community, whatever their station in life, have an interest for those who follow after them, and if the dead are ancestors or kindred of the living the interest is doubly strong. Pittsburgh is comparatively

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young as cities of the world go. Less than two hundred years ago the land where the city now stands had been hardly seen, much less occupied, by white men. It was only when the controversy for its possession between the French and English became acute that the place began to be known. Being quicker witted than the English, the French were the first to plant themselves between the two rivers, building Fort Duquesne as a barrier against the aggressions of the English. There was a considerable force of the French, and life was rude and there being war, there were deaths among them, and a regular burying-place was established, almost, if not at the beginning.

The French stronghold stood at the point of land formed by the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, two or three hundred feet north of Penn Avenue and about two hundred feet west of the Block House, the sole reminder of Fort Pitt. Fort Duquesne was built of squared logs and had stockades with bastions at each corner and was fifty yards wide; there were intrenchments around the fort which were about four rods distant. (1) It was surrounded by a ditch on the two sides which did not front on the rivers. The full name was "Fort Duquesne under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful River." The Rt. Rev. Mgr. A. A. Lambing, who in 1885 published a translation of the "Register of Fort Duquense" containing a list of the interments, marriages and baptisms which took place in the French fortress, stated that the precise location of the cemetery could not be determined (2), but intimated that it might have been in the neighborhood of the fort. In this conclusion he was mistaken. The ground about the fort was low. Since that time it has been filled twelve feet or more. The condition of the ground was further changed when the two bridges located at the Point were built, the approaches being raised from fifteen to eighteen feet above the present level of the surrounding land. John McKinney, a soldier in Braddock's army who was taken prisoner when the English were defeated, and was carried to Fort Duquesne (3) has left a description of the fort and its surroundings in which he said, "the waters sometimes rise so high that the whole fort is surrounded by it, so that canoes may go around." He added that he thought he once saw them when they had risen nearly thirty feet. It is not at all probable that under these circumstances the burying-ground would be in the immediate vicinity of the fort.

On Colonel George Woods' plan of Pittsburgh, laid out in 1784, there appeared a narrow street twenty feet wide called Virgin Alley, being the street directly north of and

parallel with Fifth Street, now Fifth Avenue. In the block bounded by this alley and Sixth Street, now Sixth Avenue, by Wood Street and Smithfield Street, was a tier of lots numbered from 433 to 440. The entire block is now covered by the McCreery store, the First Presbyterian Church, Trinity Church and burying-ground and the Oliver Building. After the Revolution, John Penn,Jr., and John Penn, who owned all the land within the town of Pittsburgh, whether settled or vacant, by their two deeds both dated December 24, 1787, conveyed for a nominal consideration, that portion of the block beginning sixty feet east of Wood Street and extending eastwardly to within one hundred and twenty feet of Smithfield Street, being lots numbered from 435 to 439. The westerly half of this tier of lots was conveyed to the trustees of the Presbyterian Congregation of Pittsburgh, now the First Presbyterian Church, and the easterly half to the "trustees of the congregation of the Episcopal Protestant Church, commonly called the Church of England, in trust forever for a site for a house of worship, and a burial place for the use of said religious society."

On these five lots according to the most reliable authorities, the earliest burying-ground in the present city of Pittsburgh was located. William M. Darlington, the eminent local historian, whose family connections were among the earliest settlers, stated that in the rear of the present Trinity Church, adjoining Virgin Alley, and on the line of division between the Episcopal churchyard and that of the First Presbyterian Church stood an ancient Indian tumulus; that in the sepulchral mound and in the ground adjacent were interred the dead of the older Indians, of the Indians of later times, of the French of Fort Duquesne, and of the British and Americans (4). That the French buried their dead in this ground is also asserted by Isaac Craig, an historical student of note, and the son of Neville B. Craig, to whom Pittsburgh is indebted for the preservation of many of the documents relating to the early history of the city.

In 1877 the First Presbyterian Church decided to abandon that portion of its burying-ground surrounding the church and including the land fronting on Virgin Alley, for the purpose of erecting a new Sunday-school building and lecture room. Isaac Craig and John B. Guthrie united in a suit to prevent the church from carrying out its design. In this proceeding Isaac Craig presented a written statement which was admitted in evidence by agreement of all parties, in which he told of the use of the burying-ground by the French while they held Fort Duquesne (5). That it was

the current belief seventy or seventy-five years ago that the first burying-ground in Pittsburgh was on this location, appears from a letter written in 1846 by the Rev. George Upfold, rector of Trinity Church from 1831 to 1849 (6). Besides the location was such as the Indians would have selected, it being well known that Indian burials were made in pleasant locations and on high dry land out of the reach of floods or standing water. It was, therefore, natural for the French to choose this site in which to bury their dead; and in addition the land was considerably higher than Fort Duquesne, and could be readily seen from that point.

Virgin Alley began at Liberty Street, now Liberty Avenue, and extended to Smithfield Street. Prior to the adoption of Colonel Woods' plan, this alley had existed in front of the French burying-ground, and connected with the old winding road, a part of which was approximately on the location of Liberty Street, and led to the original Fort Pitt, and before the erection of that temporary structure had extended to Fort Duquesne. According to tradition, and this tradition is probably based on facts, it was called by the French, the "Path to the Cemetery under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful River," because it led from the fort to the burying-ground, which like the fort, was "under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin." This poetic, no less than religious appellation, so it is further alleged was shortened by the English upon their taking possession of the territory, into the prosaic Virgin Alley, and that Colonel Woods adopted the name. In 1903 Virgin Alley was widened to forty-four feet, the added width being taken from the land on the northerly side of the thoroughfare. The name has since been changed to Oliver Avenue, after the well-known Pittsburgh family.

Before the occupation by the French of the land between the two rivers it was covered with forest trees. After the erection of Fort Duquesne these were cut down to the distance of a little more than a musket shot from the ramparts (7). The first interment was Toussant Boyer, a young Canadian, who was buried on June 20, 1754. But the one to attract the most attention and the one referred to by Isaac Craig in his statement, was the burial of the officer who commanded the French and Indians at Braddock's defeat, Captain Daniel Hyacinth Marie Lienard deBeaujeau. The battle of the Monongahela was fought on July 9, 1755, and the losses of the British were appalling. Out of twelve hundred men engaged, the loss in killed alone was more than seven hundred, while

of the French, Canadians and Indians combined, so far as known, only twenty-eight men were killed. Among them, however, was the captain of infantry who had planned and encompassed the overwhelming defeat of the British.

For three days the great triumph had been celebrated at Fort Duquesne, for three days the fruits of victory had been coming from the battlefield. The dead were brought in to receive military funerals. Ensign de la Perde who had died of wounds had been buried on July 10th, and Lieutenant de Carqueville who was killed in the battle was buried on the same day. The baptized Indians who were killed were likewise probably buried in the consecrated ground, while the heathen Indians were interred according to the rites of their respective tribes in land adjoining the cemetery. But on the third day the paens of victory were silenced and a deep sorrow overwhelmed the victors. The brave officer who had commanded in the battle was to be laid to rest. It was the most impressive scene that the Western wilderness had ever witnessed.

It is easy to conjure up a picture of that stirring day. The white flag with the golden lillies flying over Fort Duquesne was at halfmast. The six or seven hundred Indians mustered from the Ohio Country, from Canada, from the Great Lakes were moving about or squatting in front of their wigwams and camp-sheds which were scattered over the cleared ground almost to the edge of the woods. Near the fort in indiscriminate confusion was the plunder gathered on the battlefield. A hundred head of cattle were there, and among them and about them were tethered several hundred horses. In utter disorder lay brass cannon, motars and howitzers, broken gun carriages, barrels of powder, flour and military stores of every description.

The cannon of Fort Duquesne began to boom slowly, one after another; then the great wooden gate opening on the drawbridge swung outward and a procession emerged, crossed the drawbridge, and moved in the direction of the burying-ground. A few French officers in white uniforms with blue facings were in advance, Contreoeur, the commandant of the fort walking alone; next came a company of French regulars. Canadians picturesquely clad in fringed hunting shirts and fur caps followed. Now the bier came in view. Six French soldiers, three walking on either side carried a rude coffin made of bark. A Recollet friar in coarse gray habit walked behind. The Indians began joining the procession, the black and red war paint still on their faces. Many were wearing the uniforms, and grenadier caps that (8) had been taken from the British soldiers who

had fallen in the battle. A few wore the dress of British officers, including the sash, half moon and laced hat. Nearly all carried poles on which were fastened scalps on which the blood had scarcely dried. Their great chiefs, famous warriors of many tribes, led them, Athanase, chief of the Hurons, and Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, who was later to become the greatest chief of them all. In the shadow of giant trees beside the Indian mound, the procession halted.

The burying-ground was thinly dotted with graves. A few were newly made with rude wooden crosses stuck in the earth. Tall poles on which were painted figures telling the deeds of the deceased, projected from the Indian graves. The pictures on the poles, faced toward the East, or rising sun, in order that the warriors sleeping beneath might look toward the happy land to which they would presently go. Many Indians were assembled awaiting the procession from the fort. Their faces betrayed sorrow. They recalled the bravery of the fallen Frenchman; it was on the day before the battle that Contrecoeur had sent De Beaujeu to them to ask that they join in attacking the British; and they had declined saying to him, "No, father you want to die and sacrifice yourself." They remembered, too, that they had promised to consult together, and that the next morning the Frenchman had sallied forth from the fort with his few troops, and again asked for their assistance and on their second refusal had declared that he would nevertheless go to meet the enemy, when they determined to follow him (9). How happy it had made them that they had been participants in the overwhelming victory, and now their hero was dead!

The friar repeated the office of the dead. The coffin was lowered into the grave; the soldier's requiem was the continued booming of the cannon at the fort, and a volley fired over the grave; but the burying-ground remained filled with soldiers until nightfall.

For three years longer the French continued to bury their dead in this land. The majority of the interments were soldiers, but there were also civilians, carpenters who had worked in the fort, servants, and others who were on some mission or business at the fort and had died there. Then there were children, mostly English, whom the French had rescued from their Indian allies; also adult Indians and Indian children were buried there. History fails to tell what became of the grave of DeBeaujeu, nor is there any tradition. The gallant Frenchman deserves an enduring monument, and it should be erected by the citizens of Pittsburgh in the grounds where he was buried.

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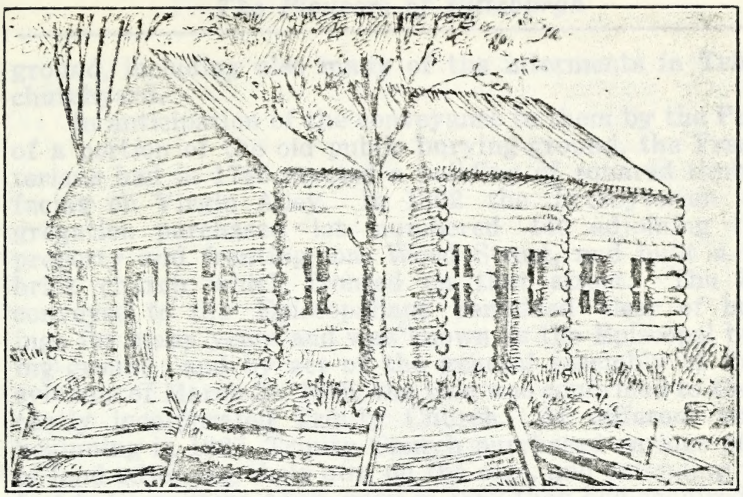
CHAPTER II.

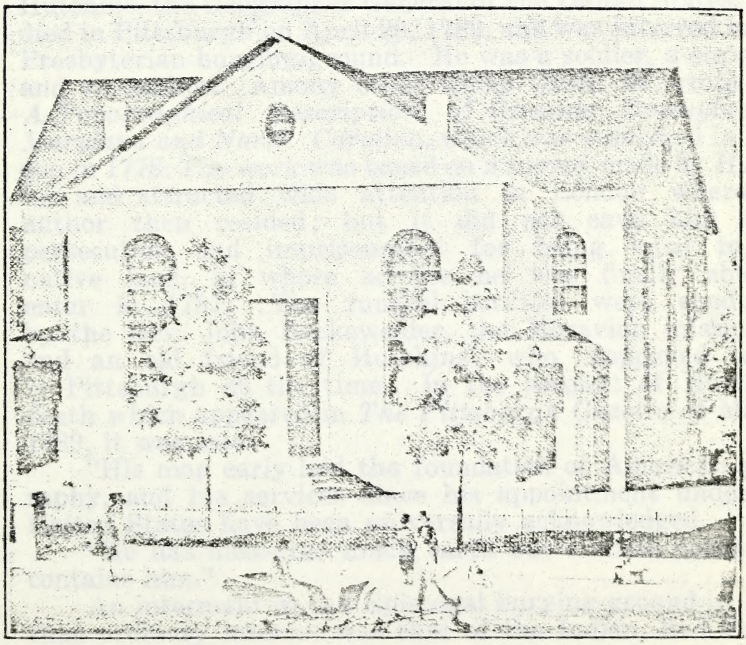
THE PIONEERS OF PITTSBURGH.

On November 24, 1758, the French after setting fire to the fort, burning the outbuildings and blowing up one of the powder magazines, abandoned the place; and the British under General John Forbes took possession. Where the religion had been Roman Catholic, it now became Protestant. The British built a temporary fort and then one of a permanent character, both being named Fort Pitt, after the great minister whose genius had planned the campaign which resulted in wresting the country from the French. The consecrated burying-ground of the French began to be used by the heretical British army. The French crosses and the Indian poles decayed, the Indian mound was cut away, and if the British graves were marked at all it was by placing at the head a slab or boulder, or a piece of stone broken from some neighboring ledge, roughly shaped by the blacksmith or other mechanic with the army, and on which he had chiseled a rude inscription.

The burying-ground was used successively for the interment of British, Colonial and Revolutionary soldiers, as well as by the townspeople generally. The records of the early burials are scanty, few antedating the Revolution. Even the registers of the two churches are only fragmentary. In Trinity churchyard, while many tombstones have been removed, there are still a large number in place, on some of which the epitaphs are legible while on others the inscriptions can only be deciphered in part or not at all. The burying-ground of the First Presbyterian Church has been wholly abandoned and is covered with buildings; and the available information in regard to burials there, as well as those in Trinity churchyard, is widely scattered, being contained in local histories, in memoirs, in biographical sketches, in works on genealogy, in old newspapers and in the testimony produced at the hearings in the suit of Craig and Guthrie against the First Presbyterian Church. The reminiscences of persons whose ancestors or other relatives were buried in these graveyards, while perhaps not always reliable, is yet of some value. An article published in *The Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch* of February 23, 1877, gives perhaps the fullest account extant of the graves of at least the best known personages who were buried in the Presbyterian burying-



Presbyterian Meeting House, Virgin Alley, now Oliver Avenue 1786-1805.



First Presbyterian Church, Wood Street, 1805-1852.

ground, including also many of the interments in Trinity churchyard.

In anticipation of the conveyance to them by the Penns of a portion of the old public burying-ground, the Presbyterians had in 1786 erected a building of squared timbers, facing on Virgin Alley. In 1802 the Presbyterian congregation purchased lot numbered 440 adjoining their property and fronting on Wood Street, and built a new brick church which fronted on that street. The land conveyed to the Episcopalians remained clear of buildings for many years and was known as the Episcopal burying-ground; and by act of the general assembly of Pennsylvania of March 21, 1806, the title was confirmed to the recently incorporated Trinity Church. At different times, beginning in 1827, Trinity Church purchased various pieces of land adjoining their own on the east, and extending fifty feet to Carpenters Alley, until in 1863 they had acquired the entire strip between Sixth Street and Virgin Alley. Most of the burials in the two cemeteries were of course of local people, but included were also persons of national and even international reputation.

A man of international reputation was Captain Thomas Hutchins, the Geographer General of the United States, who died in Pittsburgh on April 28, 1789, and was interred in the Presbyterian burying-ground. He was a soldier, a surveyor and an author. Among other books which he wrote was *A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina*, which was published in London in 1778. The work was based on a survey made by Hutchins and attracted wide attention in London where the author then resided; but it did not save him from persecution and imprisonment for being loyal to his native land, in whose service he was finally able to enter in 1781. The funeral services were conducted by the Rev. John Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary and an old friend of Hutchins', who happened to be in Pittsburgh at the time. In the account of Hutchins' death which appeared in *The Pittsburgh Gazette* of May 2, 1789, it was said:

"His map early laid the foundation of American geography, and his services since his appointment under the United States have been universally acknowledged.

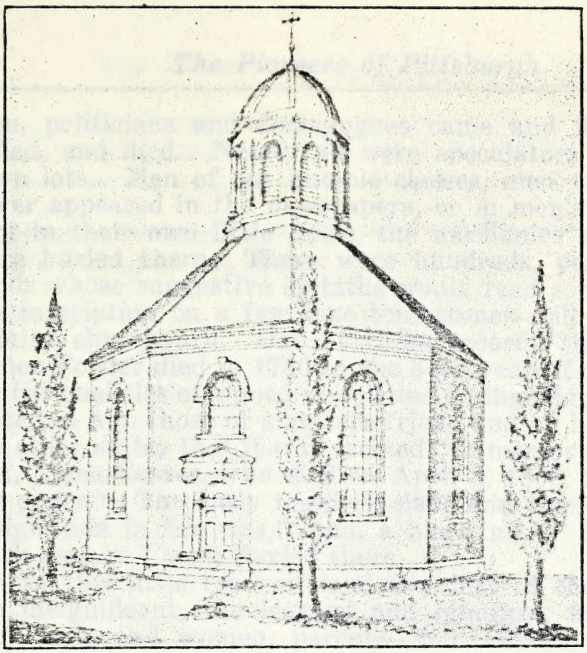
"He has measured much earth but a small space now contains him."

An interment in the Episcopal burying-ground of more than ordinary interest was that of the Indian, Red Pole, a chief of the Shawanese tribe who died in Pittsburgh on Jan-

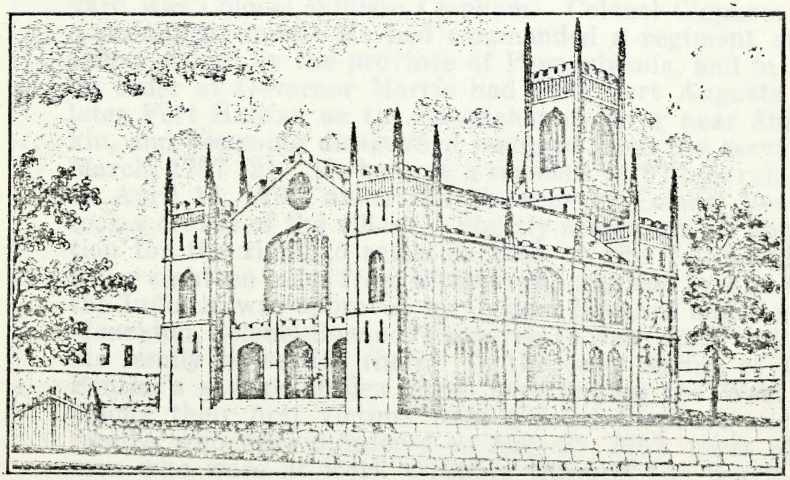
uary 28, 1797. The first Trinity Church, commonly called the "Round Church," an octagonal-brick building stood on the triangular lot bounded by Wood Street, Liberty Street and Sixth Street. The second Trinity Church was built in the burying-ground in 1824-1827. In Dr. Upfold's day the Indian chief's remains lay buried in this church immediately beneath the chancel containing the communion table or altar, the most honored place in the church (1). The tombstone was erected by order of the Secretary of War, in consideration of services rendered by the deceased to the United States government in effecting the pacification of certain Indian tribes, and so far as known has always remained outside of the old and the present church, being now located along side of the west wall of the latter edifice. The epitaph records that the deceased was "Lamented by the United States."

Another distinguished stranger who died while on a visit to Pittsburgh was Commodore Joshua Barney, the United States naval officer who, during the Revolution, was the first man to unfurl the American flag in Maryland, his native state. In the Revolutionary war, while in command of the "Hyder Ali" he captured a number of British ships, including the "General Monk." Ballads were written about his achievements, and "The Roaring Hyder Ali," was as familiar as the nursery tales of lisping infancy. He was a captain in the French navy from 1795 to 1800. When the war of 1812 opened he again entered his country's service and in 1814 commanded in Chesapeake Bay. His death occurred on December 1, 1818, and the interment was in the Presbyterian churchyard.

The early history of Pittsburgh can almost be read in the lives of the men and women who were interred in the old burying-grounds. In their records may be found the story of the political development of the place, of the beginning and rise of its social, commercial and industrial life. The early dead were adventurers in the old and best meaning of the word. Many no doubt had birth and position in the East or in the foreign lands whence they came, but they lacked fortune, and to gain this they had come to the frontier, or to the new Western town. There were among them men who had begun life as Indian traders, and on the breaking out of Revolution had joined the patriot armies, and at the close of the war returned and laid aside their uniforms and become merchants and manufacturers, or perhaps public officials. Other Revolutionary soldiers had come to Pittsburgh for the first time after their military careers were over. Lawyers, physicians and clergymen, as well as states-



"Round Church," Liberty Street now Liberty Avenue.
First House of Worship of Trinity Congregation.



Trinity Church, Sixth Street, now Sixth Avenue, as designed by the Rector, the Rev. John H. Hopkins, 1824-1870.
From *Pittsburgh in the year 1826*

men, politicians and demagogues came and flourished or failed, and died. Nearly all were speculators in lands or town lots. Men of the humble classes, men whose names never appeared in the newspapers, or in men's mouths except in their own little circle, the mechanics and laborers were buried there. There were hundreds, perhaps thousands whose suggestive epitaths would read something like the inscription on a few lone tombstones still standing in Trinity churchyard. One of these records the fact that James Fowler died in 1780 in the 34th year of his age, and "to the qualities of a good mason and an ingenious mechanic, united in him those of a sincere friend and an honest man," the other states that it was erected "In memory of Thomas Fox, Stone Cutter, who died on April 8, 1839, aged thirty-one years." The lowly negroes, slave and free, whose only designation in life was "John, a black man," or "Mary, a black woman," were buried there.

In this little tract of land the dust of the great and the insignificant, the learned and ignorant, the rich and poor, men and women, parents and children, the married and the unmarried, commingled.

The first interment made in either of the burying-grounds while in possession of the British was that of Captain Richard Mather of the Royal American regiment, who died at Fort Pitt on March 16, 1762, and was buried in that part of the burying-ground now controlled by Trinity Church. Another soldier of that day to be buried in the old graveyard was Colonel William Clapham. Colonel Clapham was a prominent man. He had commanded a regiment of infantry raised by the province of Pennsylvania, and in 1756 by order of Governor Morris had built Fort Augusta and later Fort Halifax on the Susquehanna River near Shamokin, and becoming dissatisfied resigned from the service in March, 1757 (2). He became a resident of Pittsburgh, and on April 14, 1761, under the direction of Colonel Bouquet took a census of the village. Shortly afterward his application for the right to settle on land on the Youghiogheny River eighteen miles from Pittsburgh, acquired by him from the Indians, was approved by Colonel Bouquet and General Monckton, Colonel Bouquet's superior in New York, and with his family he settled there. In the early spring of 1763, Pontiac's savage hordes began overrunning the West and among their first victims were Colonel Clapham and his family, who were murdered on May 28, 1763, three of his men who were at work escaping through the woods and carrying the news of the massacre to the commander of Fort Pitt (3). Colonel Clapham's remains were afterward

laid to rest in the Presbyterian burying-ground.

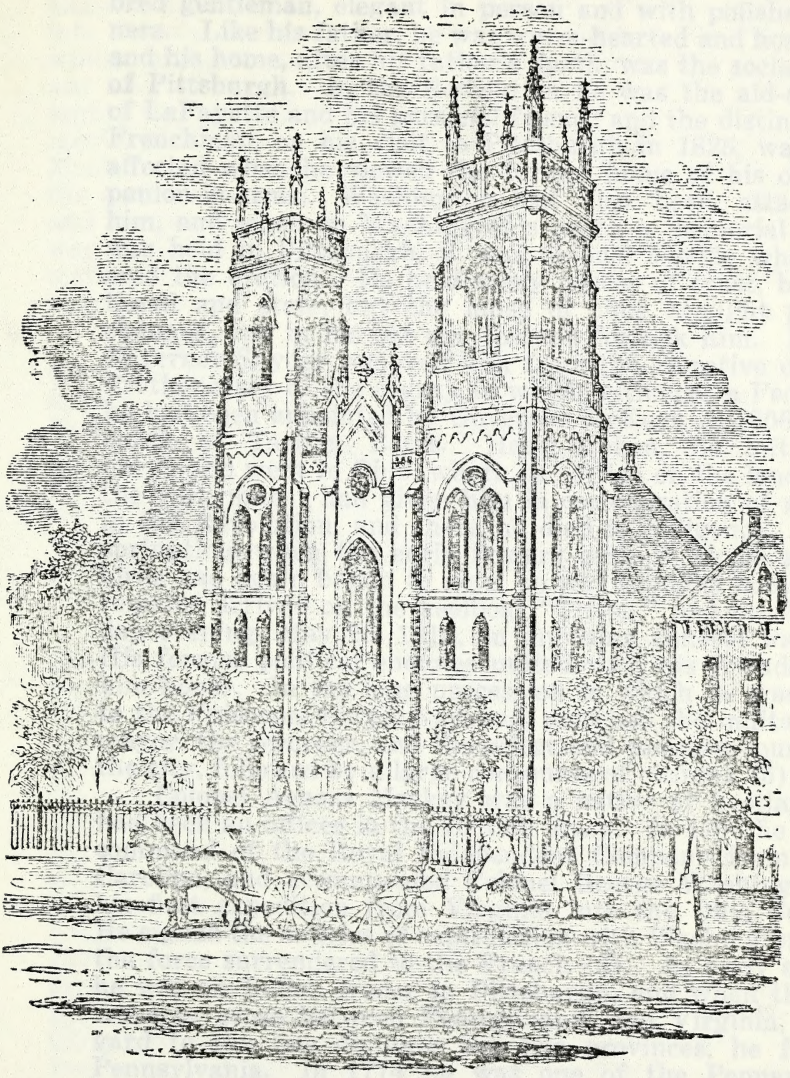
Captain Samuel Dawson, formerly of the British army, but who later saw service in the Continental army in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, was buried in the Episcopal burying-ground. He died on September 6, 1779. The stone slab covering his grave is still to be seen and is the oldest tombstone in the Trinity churchyard.

John Ormsby died on December 19, 1805, at the age of eighty-five years. He was a soldier in the French and Indian War, coming with General Forbes' command, in which he was an officer. He was successively Indian trader, ferryman, innkeeper and merchant. His tombstone in Trinity churchyard has been well taken care of by his descendants.

At the time of publication of the article in *The Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch* many of the tombstones which have since been removed were in place in the First Presbyterian Church burying-ground. One of the most prominent was that of General John Neville, who died on July 29, 1803. In war and in peace he had a notable career. He was the colonel of a Virginia regiment in the Revolution. In civil life he was still more conspicuous, being a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, a delegate to the convention which ratified the Federal Constitution and Inspector of the Revenue during the Whisky Insurrection. His country home was destroyed in 1794 by the Insurgents during that dark period of Pennsylvania's history. He was noted for his charming hospitality, and when in 1797 the French princes, the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Louis Philippe, king of France, and his two brothers, the Duke of Montpelier and the Count of Beaujolais, visited Pittsburgh, it was at the home of General Neville that they were most lavishly entertained. After the Duke of Orleans had become king of France, many years subsequent to General Neville's death, he recalled the pleasant days that he and his brothers had passed with the old American soldier. (4)

Near this grave was that of Major Isaac Craig, General Neville's son-in-law. In the Revolution he was captain of marines, and captain of artillery, and in later years United States deputy quartermaster and military storekeeper. In conjunction with Colonel Stephen Bayard, with whom he had formed a partnership in the mercantile business, and also to deal in lands and lots, he purchased on January 23, 1784, the first land in Pittsburgh sold by the Penns; and he was the partner of Colonel James O'Hara in glass manufacturing. He was the grandfather of Isaac Craig and died on May 11, 1826.

Colonel Presley Neville, the son of General John Neville,



First Presbyterian Church, Wood Street, Erected in 1853.
From a view taken in 1857.

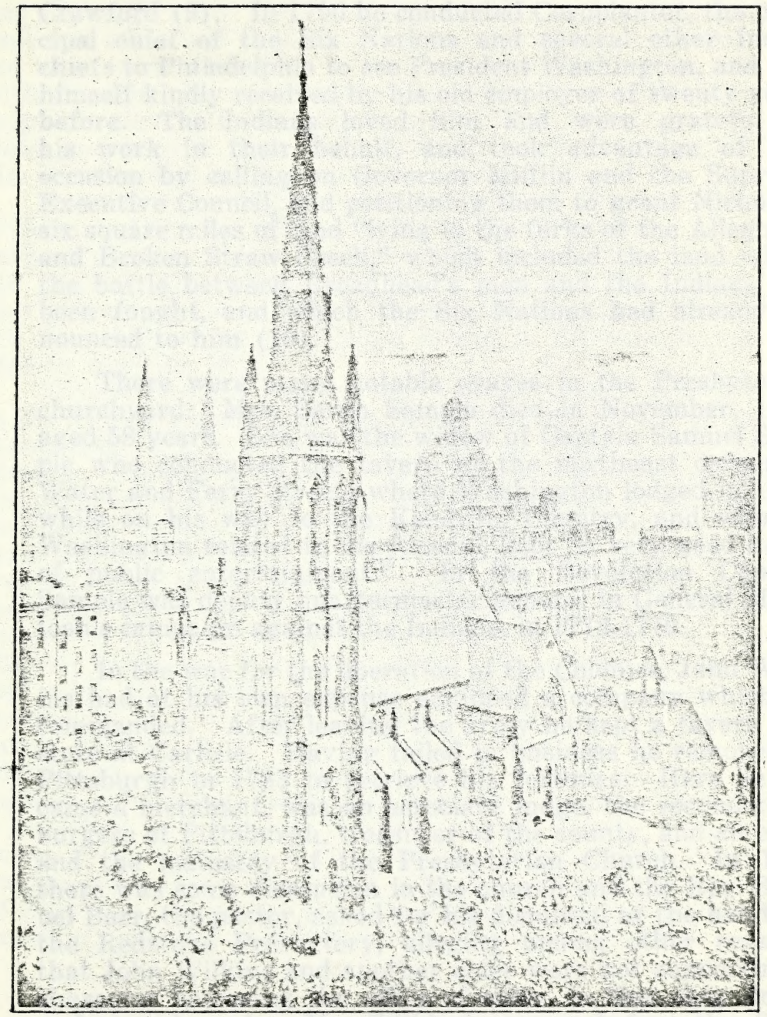
died on December 1, 1818, near Neville, Ohio. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, a cultured, well-bred gentleman, elegant in person and with polished manners. Like his father, he was warm-hearted and hospitable, and his home, after his father's death, was the social center of Pittsburgh. In the Revolution he was the aid-de-camp of LaFayette and his personal friend; and the distinguished Frenchman, on his visit to Pittsburgh in 1825, was much affected when he viewed the former home of his old companion-in-arms. Washington had also been attached to him, and when on Washington's death a memorial service was held in Pittsburgh, it was Colonel Neville who delivered the oration. He held many offices of trust, both national and state, but the lapse of time brought political changes, and in his old age fortune forsook him. In 1816 Governor Snyder removed him from the lucrative office of Prothonotary of the county to which, although a Federalist, he had been appointed by Governor McKean in 1806 on the death of Tarlton Bates. Heart-broken, he left Pittsburgh and went to Ohio, where he settled on the land which the government had given him in consideration of services in the Revolution, and there he died in indigence. In the springtime when the early flowers were in bloom and the birds had again begun to sing, he was brought home. The remains arrived on the keelboat "Triton," and on Wednesday evening, May 26, 1819, an imposing funeral was held. His former political enemies united with his friends to do him honor. In the long procession in which he was borne to the Episcopal burying-ground, marched the military, the mayor, the recorder, and the select and common councils of the city, followed by a large concourse of citizens (5).

Colonel Aeneas Mackey was a native of Scotland and had been an officer in the British army. In 1754 he was in command of the Royal Independent Company from South Carolina, and accompanied Colonel George Washington on his first expedition from Virginia into the Ohio Country. He signed the articles of capitulation with Washington when the force surrendered to the French (6). As early as 1767 he was an Indian trader in Pittsburgh, and when the controversy arose between Pennsylvania and Virginia, in regard to the line dividing the two provinces, he favored Pennsylvania. In 1774 he was one of the Pennsylvania justices and was arrested at Hannastown, the county seat of Westmoreland County, by Doctor John Connelly who represented Virginia, and was detained for four weeks. In the Revolution he commanded the regiment largely raised in Westmoreland County, which afterward became the Eighth

Pennsylvania. In the terrible winter of 1777, the regiment was ordered to proceed to New Jersey and join the army of General Washington. Next to Benedict Arnold's advance into Canada, this movement across the state in the dead of winter was perhaps the most severe march undertaken by any body of troops during the war. The men were without tents; they lacked food and clothing, the roads were execrable and in the mountain passes were deep snows. Colonel Mackay brought the regiment safely to its destination, but the awful strain was too much for even the sturdy soldier and frontiersman, and on February 14, 1777, he died, and was buried with military honors in Philadelphia, the remains being subsequently removed to the Presbyterian burying-ground in Pittsburgh.

In the army sent into Western Pennsylvania to put down the Whisky Insurrection was the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry. Among the private soldiers was Meredith Clymer, the son of George Clymer, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and at this time Inspector General of the Revenue under the excise law which had caused the rebellion. At Parkinson's Ferry, now Monongahela City, on November 18, 1794, Meredith Clymer died, and like Colonel Mackay, was interred in the Presbyterian churchyard.

Another of the earlier graves in this burying-ground was that of Joseph Nicholson, an Indian interpreter and scout, who died on October 1, 1796, at the age of 57 years. When quite young he had been a captive among the Indians, spoke several Indian dialects and was well acquainted with their customs, being an adopted member of the Six Nations. He was for many years interpreter for the garrison at Fort Pitt, both while in the occupancy of the British and later. He was the best known of all the interpreters and scouts on the western frontier, and had led a most adventurous life. He accompanied Washington on his journey from Pittsburgh to the Kanawha River Country in October, 1770. In 1774 he was one of Governor Dunmore's scouts in his war against the Indians. The story of his participation in the Indian dance which he and his brother, Thomas, and Simen Girty and his half-brother, John Turner, gave before Lord Dunmore, in which their Indian songs and yells are said to have "made the welkin ring," illustrates the intimate character of his knowledge of Indian life as well as his versatility (7). He was guide and interpreter for Colonel Broadhead in the summer of 1779, in that officer's campaign against the Indians of the Allegheny River Val-



The Present Trinity Church in 1898.

ley, where he was wounded (8). In 1782, with his brother Thomas, he guided the disastrous expedition against the Sandusky towns, which was led by Colonel Crawford (9). In 1790 he conducted Cornplanter, the principal chief of the Six Nations and several other Indian chiefs to Philadelphia to see President Washington, and was himself kindly received by his old employer of twenty years before. The Indians loved him and were grateful for his work in their behalf, and took advantage of this occasion by calling on Governor Mifflin and the Supreme Executive Council, and petitioning them to grant Nicholson six square miles of land "lying in the forks of the Allegheny and Broken Straw Creek," which included the land where the battle between Broadhead's men and the Indians had been fought, and which the Six Nations had already renounced to him (10).

There were many notable graves in the Presbyterian churchyard. Mrs. Sarah Sample died in November, 1801, aged 58 years. She was the widow of Captain Samuel Sample who conducted the tavern at the northeast corner of Water and Ferry streets where Washington lodged in 1770, while on his way to the Kanawha Country, and who, as Washington related in his journal, kept "a very good house of public entertainment." In the Revolution Captain Sample was deputy quartermaster general in General McIntosh's campaign against the Indians, in 1778-1779.

In the war for the liberation of the Colonies, John Wilkins had at his own expense equipped a company which he commanded. After leaving the army he kept a tavern and store at Carlisle. Having failed in business he removed to Pittsburgh in 1783 to retrieve his fortunes. Here he became a merchant, was an associate judge, the second chief burgess of Pittsburgh, treasurer of the county, and an elder and the mainstay of the Presbyterian Church. In 1789 there was some dissension in the church and the Rev. Samuel Barr, the pastor, asked for his dismissal at the hands of the Redstone Presbytery, alleging among other reasons, that John Wilkins and another elder were not supporting a character becoming the office of elder, in that they drank and played cards. Mr. Wilkins' answer before the Presbytery was characteristic. He frankly admitted that he both drank and played cards. He declared that with others he met in the evening and took a game at whist or loo; that Mr. Barr was frequently present and was far from discountenancing them, that upon a certain occasion being invited to take a game at loo, he had said it would not suit, as there

were a number of bigoted, narrow-minded McMillanites on the other side of the river who, if they heard of it, might call him to account. Mr. Wilkins related that Mr. Barr had originally asked him to become an elder, and that he had declined, as he was fond of taking a game at loo, and would not wish to be restricted in that amusement when he met with friends. Mr. Barr had replied that he might be indulged in that with his friends, provided he did not go into riots, and kept it from the knowledge of the people (11). Mr. Wilkins died on December 11, 1809.

General John Wilkins was the son of Captain John Wilkins and like his father, served in the Revolution, being surgeon's mate. After the Revolution he was quartermaster general, and during the Whisky Insurrection brigadier general of the militia. He was the first president of the Branch Bank of the United States in Pittsburgh, and died on April 30, 1816.

Colonel Stephen Bayard, Major Isaac Craig's associate in the land purchased from the Penns, had also served in the Revolution, and was the son-in-law of Colonel Aeneas Mackay. He was a native of Maryland but was reared by his uncle in Philadelphia (12). At the outbreak of the war he became captain of a Philadelphia company known from its aristocratic origin as the "silk stocking company," which was attached to the Second Pennsylvania Battalion, subsequently the Third Pennsylvania Regiment. He was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and served in the Eighth, Sixth and Third regiments. He was on the frontier with the Eighth Regiment, several times acting as commader at Fort Pitt, during the absence of Broadhead, Gibson or Irvine. After the war he settled in Pittsburgh, and besides being Major Craig's partner in various enterprises, established a sawmill, a saltworks and a distillery, and planned the first market house. In later years he removed to a place on the Monongahela River, twelve miles above Pittsburgh, where he laid out the town of Elizabeth, named for his wife, where he engaged in boatbuilding. He died in Pittsburgh on December 15, 1815.

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CHAPTER III.

IN WHICH THERE ARE ALSO WOMEN.

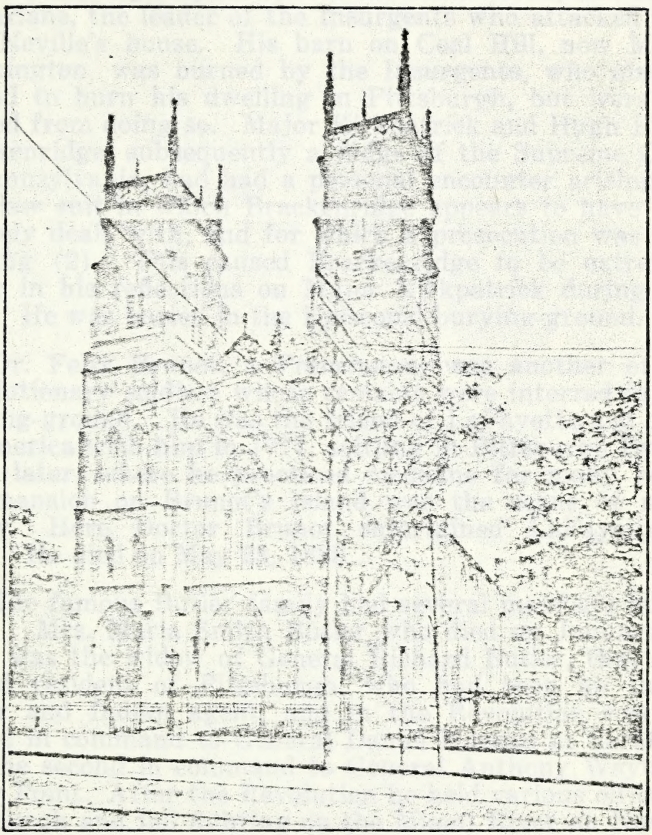
A number of other soldiers of the Revolution were buried in the Presbyterian churchyard.

Colonel James O'Hara had been an officer in this war, was chief burgess of Pittsburgh in 1803, and was perhaps the most extensive landowner in the borough and the vicinity; he was the originator of the glass manufactory which he and Major Craig operated, and also owned a brewery and other enterprises. He died on December 21, 1819.

General Adamson Tannehill, who died on December 23, 1820, was born in Maryland where he enlisted in the Revolutionary army, becoming second lieutenant; he was made captain in 1779, and with his corps was transferred to the Pittsburgh frontier. In November, 1780, he was temporarily in command of Fort McIntosh (1). At the close of the Revolution he conducted a tavern in Pittsburgh, and was a popular man and an astute politician. Later he became a justice of the peace and while holding that office was convicted of extortion. The conviction was thought to disqualify him from exercising the office, but being a leading Democrat, Governor McKean remitted the fine which had been imposed and reappointed him to the office of justice of the peace. The prestige which he had regained as the result of the action of Governor McKean was again lost during the War of 1812. He had become an officer in the state militia, and during the war was elected to command the brigade that was organized in Western Pennsylvania, and which was sent to northern New York where troops were being collected. In November an attempt was to be made to invade Canada by way of the upper Niagara. In the morning when the troops were to embark for this undertaking and cross the river, General Tannehill's brigade failed to appear, the men having deserted almost in a body and gone home in squads.

Major Ebenezer Denny, a Revolutionary officer, and aid-de-camp of General Arthur St. Clair in 1791, was county commissioner of Allegheny County and the first mayor of Pittsburgh when it became a city in 1816. He was also a successful merchant, dying on January 21, 1822.

Major Abraham Kirkpatrick who died on November 17, 1817, was the brother-in-law of General John Neville, and



First Presbyterian Church, Wood Street, in 1903, when taken down to make way for the McCreery Building.

had fought gallantly in the Revolution. He was a justice of the peace for Allegheny County in 1788, and was commissary general of the Western army at the time of the Whisky Insurrection. The feeling against him during this time was more bitter than even against General Neville, as he was accused of being responsible for the death of Captain James McFarlane, the leader of the Insurgents who attacked General Neville's house. His barn on Coal Hill, now Mount Washington, was burned by the Insurgents, who also intended to burn his dwelling in Pittsburgh, but were dissuaded from doing so. Major Kirkpatrick and Hugh Henry Brackenridge, subsequently a judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, had had a personal encounter arising out of a law suit in which Brackenridge appears to have been severely dealt with, and for which a prosecution was then pending (2). This caused Brackenridge to be extremely bitter in his reflections on Major Kirkpatrick during this time. He was buried in the Episcopal burying-ground.

Dr. Felix Brunot, a Frenchman, was another of the Revolutionary soldiers whose remains were interred in this burying-ground. He was the friend of LaFayette and came to America with him in 1777, settling in Pittsburgh twenty years later, where he practiced medicine for many years. His mansion on Brunot's Island was the scene of much gaiety. Here Doctor Brunot entertained LaFayette in 1825. He died on May 23, 1838.

The famous Butler family had several members buried here. Mrs. Maria Smith Butler who died on January 18, 1824, was the widow of General Richard Butler, that celebrated resident of Pittsburgh, who had been an Indian trader and Indian agent, and in the Revolution was the second in command to General Daniel Morgan at Saratoga, and the second in command to General Anthony Wayne at Stony Point. After the Revolution he held various offices in Pittsburgh and fell fighting on the Miami River on November 4, 1791, during St. Clair's unfortunate expedition against the Indians. It was related of Mrs. Butler that when her son James R. Butler, the captain of the Pittsburgh Blues in the War of 1812, was on September 23rd of that year, about to start with his command for the boats which were to take them down the Ohio River to the Wabash Country to join the army of General William Henry Harrison, he marched his company in front of his mothers' home, when she met him at the door. Upon bidding her son farewell she said to him so that the whole company might hear: "My son, remember that you are a Butler. Keep that name ever in

honor. Farewell! God bless you!"

Not far from the grave of his mother is also the burial place of Captain James R. Butler, who died on April 30, 1832. With his command he took part in the battle of Mississinewa and the battle of Fort Meigs, the command distinguishing itself in both battles, their gallant conduct being specially noticed in General Harrison's reports.

Colonel William Butler was another of the celebrated Butler family and was a brother of General Richard Butler, dying in Pittsburgh in 1789. He was an old resident of the village, being in the Indian trade with his brother prior to the Revolution. He was lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. Revolutionary soldiers pointed to him as the bravest man in battle they had ever known. On September 25, 1783, the legislature granted him the right to establish a ferry from Pittsburgh to the north side of the Allegheny River; he was also forest ranger for the reserve tract opposite Pittsburgh to "prevent the commission of waste upon the timbers of the reserve tract." Here he operated a farm.

A unique tombstone in the Episcopal burying-ground was that of Patrick Murphy. It was "unique" because there was inscribed on it the curious statement that he was "a respectable citizen of Pittsburgh." He died in January, 1797, and had been the proprietor of the inn on Market Street known by the "Sign of General Butler," named for General Richard Butler, which in its day was the leading tavern in the town. That Patrick Murphy was respected as well as "respectable," is amply shown by the names of the men who owed him money as appears from the inventory of his estate filed in the Register's office of Allegheny County after his death. The amounts owing to Patrick Murphy varied. The Rev. Samuel Barr owed him one pound, nineteen shillings and six pence, Pennsylvania currency, since 1789, the year that he severed his connection with the Presbyterian Church. From this small sum, which may have been a tavern score, the amounts increased, in one case being 685 pounds. These larger sums were owed by such well known citizens as General John Gibson, John Wilkins, Sr., Colonel Presley Neville, United States Senator James Ross, Colonel James O'Hara, General John Wilkins and Major Ebenezer Denny.

Mary Murphy, commonly called "Molly" Murphy, was the widow of Patrick Murphy. She died in January, 1826, and succeeded her husband in the conduct of the tavern. In her day she was one of the best known characters in

Pittsburgh. She could neither read nor write, but was withal a capable business woman. Judge Henry M. Brackenridge, the son of Judge Hugh Henry Brackenridge, said of her that she was as rough a Christian as he ever knew, but that no more generous or benevolent person ever lived. In the pamphlet circulated against James Ross when he was a candidate for governor in 1808, and which Jane Marie is credited with having written, Mrs. Marie pays a high tribute to the generosity of Mary Murphy, stating that she and her child "would have perished had it not been for the kindness of Mrs. Murphy" (3).

On January 8, 1806, the community was shocked by the death of Tarlton Bates, the brilliant editor of the Tree of Liberty and the Prothonotary of the county, in a duel, the result of a political quarrel. He was one of several distinguished brothers. The eldest was the second governor of the state of Missouri, another was a member of Congress from Arkansas, while a third was a candidate for President in 1860, and became a member of President Lincoln's cabinet. The interment of Tarlton Bates in the Episcopal burying-ground was attended by the largest number of people that had ever collected at a funeral in the borough.

A number of clergymen were buried in one or the other of the graveyards. The Rev. Robert Steele was the second pastor of the Presbyterian church and served the church from 1802 until his death on March 22, 1810. He was an educator of note, (4) and was liberal in his views and tolerant of worldly fashions; he was a good performer on the violin. His limited resources obliged him to live economically, and with his own hands he worked at building his dwelling. He was of a sociable disposition and a delightful companion; and was a freemason and always helpful to his fellowman. When a row of houses on Wood Street was on fire in the early hours of the morning of the winter in which he died, he was among the first to rush to the scene of the conflagration and assist in extinguishing it and caught the cold which caused his death (5).

Rev. John Wrenshall was the father of Methodism in Pittsburgh, and was a writer of some ability and a merchant of prominence. He died on September 25, 1821, and was buried between his two wives, both of whom had preceded him to the grave (6).

The Rev. Sanson K. Brunot, the son of Dr. Felix Brunot, died on June 11, 1835, in the 27th year of his age. In the short number of years since his ordination he founded the parishes of Blairsville and Greensburg, as well as Christ

Church in Pittsburgh, for the latter of which his father erected the first church building (7).

Allegheny County's first judge learned in the law was Alexander Addison. He had been a minister of the gospel in the Presbyterian Church, and studying law was admitted to the bar. Upon the adoption of the Pennsylvania constitution of 1790, which provided for a president judge learned in the law for each of the judicial circuits, Addison was appointed by Governor Mifflin, president judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, which included Allegheny County. Judge Addison was a staunch Federalist in politics and by 1799 the country had turned from Federalism to Democracy. Addison had with him on the bench a lay judge named John B. C. Lucas, a Frenchman and a rabid Democrat, with whom he quarreled. Impeachment proceedings were begun, and the Democratic party being in power in the legislature, Addison was tried, impeached and removed from the bench, the victim of political rancor. He died on November 27, 1807, in the forty-ninth year of his age. On his tombstone in the Presbyterian churchyard there was inscribed a panegyric on the dead, which closed with observation that "he left a widow and eight children to mourn over his premature grave."

Across the line in Trinity churchyard his successor, Judge Samuel Roberts, who died on December 13, 1820, sleeps the long sleep, and the low shaft which marks the place of his burial gives no indication that he was the second president judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of Pennsylvania.

James Mountain was a lawyer who died in 1813, when only forty years of age (8). He was a polished gentleman, and one of the most eloquent men who ever graced the Pittsburgh bar. His reputation in this respect was spoken of by lawyers long after his decease.

Colonel Stephen Lowrey of Queen Anne County, Maryland, died on December 29, 1821, aged 75 years, and was buried in the Episcopal burying-ground. He was an Irishman by birth, and a commissary in the Revolutionary army, and was well known in Western Pennsylvania, being a large landowner, particularly in Butler County. His daughter was the second wife of Thomas Collins, an eminent Pittsburgh lawyer.

George Adams was the second postmaster of Pittsburgh, holding the office from 1794 until his death on April 1, 1801 (9).

George Robinson was the first chief burgess of the borough of Pittsburgh, was afterwards a member of the legis-

lature and engaged in the manufacture of white flint glass, and was associate judge of Allegheny County at the time of his death on February 6, 1818 (10).

The oldest man to be buried in the Presbyterian churchyard was John Cameron, a Scotch gardener, who died on March 23, 1822, at the age of 107 years. Many stories have been told of the old Scotchman. In early life he had served in the British army in the Highlanders; and his grandfather had fought at Culloden. He was an honest, stubborn Presbyterian who would have sacrificed his life for the doctrines of his church as he understood them.

General Jackson on his way to the White House stopped in Pittsburgh over Sunday. The landlord sent to Cameron's Garden for vegetables on Sunday morning. Cameron refused the request emphatically. The host went himself, plead necessity, threatened to withdraw his custom, etc., all with no result. "Well, let me go into the garden myself, and I will pay you tomorrow!" the landlord pleaded. "No! No!" declared the Scotchman with emphasis: "It is far better to let General Jackson do without vegetables than to break the Sabbath."

The hero of the battle of New Orleans highly complimented the gardener when he heard of the incident from the vexed landlord.

Cameron was asked how he managed his hot-beds on Sunday. "I judge on Saturday night, and raise the sash a little with a corn cob for air," he answered.

"But were you never mistaken," he was pressed. "Yes, one Sabbath morning," he replied. "I knew that frost was coming; but I had no right to move the cobs on the Lord's day. The next morning about five hundred dollars worth of plants were frozen."

"How did that loss affect the year's gain?" his interlocutor continued. He responded: "I never spoke of it before; perhaps some would not believe me; I cannot account for it, but that year I made more money off my garden than in any year of my life."

William Peter Eichbaum died on February 9, 1827. He was a native of Germany, was an expert glassworker and superintended the construction of the glass works which Colonel James O'Hara and Major Isaac Craig established. Subsequently he founded a glass cutting establishment, the first of its kind in the United States. In a publication of the day it was said he was "an ingenious German who had been formerly glass cutter to Louis XVI, king of France." (11)

John Johnston was postmaster of Pittsburgh from 1804 to 1822; and was also a watchmaker and silversmith. He died on May 4, 1827 (12).

John Darragh died on May 14, 1828, aged 56 years. He was a merchant in Pittsburgh, a justice of the peace in the borough for many years, burgess, and mayor of the city from 1817 to 1825. He was also president of the Bank of Pittsburgh from 1819 until the time of his death (13).

Alexander Johnston, Jr., was cashier of the Bank of Pittsburgh from 1814 until his death on May 9, 1832 (14).

The grave of Mrs. Susanna Taylor, the wife of the Rev. John Taylor the first rector of Trinity Church, who died on January 16, 1829, is in Trinity churchyard to the right of the entrance and near the Sixth Avenue wall which incloses the burying-ground.

George Evans died on September 24, 1830. He was the son of Oliver Evans of Philadelphia, the inventor of the high-pressure steam engine. He was a man of several interests; he conducted the largest steam grist mill in the city, a plow factory, an air foundry, and was besides interested in the Columbian Steam Engine Company, the most important steam engine building concern in the West (15).

Dr. Peter Mowry was a leading physician and one of the earliest to practice medicine in Pittsburgh. He died on May 5, 1833, and was buried in Trinity churchyard. He began his medical studies with Dr. Nathaniel Bedford, the first physician to locate in Pittsburgh, and subsequently attended lectures at the University of Pennsylvania (16).

Christopher Cowan, who died on March 12, 1835, built the first rolling mill in Pittsburgh in 1811-1812 (17).

Thomas and Samuel Magee were hatters, the former dying on November 24, 1823, and the latter on June 6, 1836. They manufactured and supplied the town with beaver, castor and roram hats (18).

Miss Louisa Amelia Shaler, the second daughter of Judge Charles Shaler, the president judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit composed of the counties of Allegheny, Beaver and Butler, died on July 16, 1839, in the twenty-first year of her age. On the tablet erected over her grave was the statement that it was consecrated by her father "to the memory of a beloved child, who at a moment of hilarity and pleasure in the bloom of youth and loveliness was suddenly bereft of life by a fall from a horse (19).

James Johnston, the father of Alexander Johnston, Jr., who died on September 19, 1842, was a soldier of the Revolution (20).

Charles F. W. vonBonnhorst was born in Prussia, the scion of a noble house. He left Germany for the United States after the battle of Jena, in which he commanded an artillery corps. In 1821 he located in Pittsburgh, became a member of the board of aldermen, studied law and was admitted to the bar, dying on February 23, 1844, and being buried in Trinity churchyard.

As Judge Hugh Henry Brackenridge had been very prominent in the little communty, his wife must necessarily also have attracted some attention. Mrs. Sabina Wolf Brackenridge survived her husband for many years, dying on February 18, 1845. It is related that she was the daughter of a German farmer in Washington County. Her future husband, while riding the circuit, stopped at her father's house to escape the rain. When ready to depart, the old farmer directed his daughter to bring the lawyer's horse to the door. Her appearance made a deep impression on Brackenridge and after he had gone some distance he turned back and asked Mr. Wolf for his daughter's hand in marriage. Receiving the consent of both the father and daughter, he married her, sent her to a school in Philadelphia, whose business it was according to the chronicler to "wipe off the rusticities which Mrs. Brackenridge had acquired whilst a Wolf." (21)

James S. Stevenson had been a member of Congress and a candidate for governor of the state against George Wolf. He was engaged in white lead manufacturing and died on October 16, 1851 (22).

Literature had a representative in the burying-ground, although long after the days of the pioneers. The young journalist, author and playwright, Charles P. Shiras, died on July 26, 1854, in the thirtieth year of his age. He was the author of *Redemption of Labor*, a volume of poetry which gives strong indications of genius, and of a drama called "The Invisible Prince, or the War of the Amazons," which was played at the Old Drury Theatre early in the decade beginning in 1850. (23) This and the burial of James S. Stevenson were two of the latest interments to be made in either of the churchyards.

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13. Note—John Darragh was buried in the Presbyterian churchyard.
14. Note—Alexander Johnston, Jr., was buried in the Presbyterian churchyard.
15. Note—George Evans was buried in the Episcopal churchyard.
16. Note—Dr. Peter Mowry was buried in the Episcopal churchyard.
17. Note—Christopher Cowan was buried in the Episcopal churchyard.
18. Note—Thomas and Samuel Magee were buried in the Episcopal churchyard.
19. Note—Miss Louisa Amelia Shaler was buried in the Episcopal churchyard.
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19. Note—Miss Louisa Amelia Shaler was buried in the Episcopal churchyard.

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22. Note—James S. Stevenson was buried in the Presbyterian churchyard.

23. Note—Charles P. Shiras was buried in the Episcopal churchyard.

CHAPTER IV.

YESTERDAY AND TODAY.

At funerals in the early days the coffin was carried from the house to the burying-ground, the distance being generally short, sometimes on the shoulders of the bearers, at other times by supports placed crosswise under the bier, and which projected on both sides. The minister, mourning relatives and friends walked behind. Sometimes the bell on the Court House tolled while a prominent citizen was being borne to his last resting place. It was the custom for the attending physician to take part in the procession to the grave, following immediately after the clergyman. This was the order followed at the funeral of Colonel Presley Neville (1).

William Price, commonly known as "Billy" Price, whom Anne Royal, who visited Pittsburgh in 1828, describes as "an eccentric little gentleman well known for his odd humor and the universality of his mechanical genius," (2) had a pipe manufactory in Kensington, which adjoined the city on the southeast, and which from the fact of the pipe manufactory being located there, was generally called Pipetown. The practice of the physicians attending funerals led "Billy" Price to one day mar the solemnity of a funeral by calling out to the physician who was in the funeral procession and whom he knew well, "Ah, doctor, I see you are delivering your work, the same as I do."

The funerals of the women were always impressive, and when the person to be buried was young and of prominence, the funeral became doubly so. Oliver Ormsby Page tells interestingly of the funeral of Mrs. Emily Morgan Simms, a daughter of Colonel Presley Neville (3).

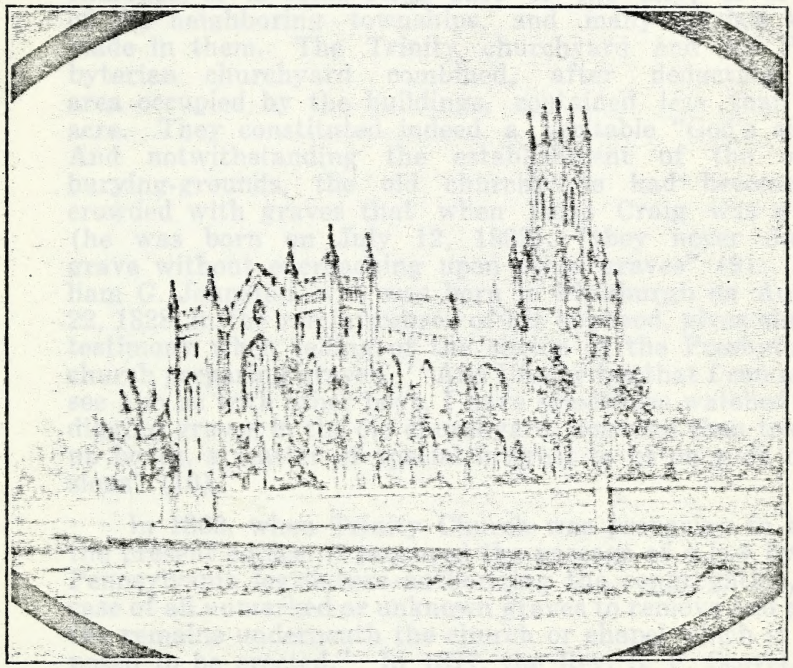
"Mrs. Simms died in Pittsburgh on February 5, 1821, while on a visit to her native city, her husband, Colonel W. D. Simms, being a resident of Washington City. . . . The bier which held the remains was carried on the shoulders of the bearers. Walking four on each side of the bier as honorary pall-bearers, were eight ladies dressed in white muslin, white stockings and slippers, their heads covered with long white lace veils reaching to their feet."

Mrs. Simms was thirty-five years of age when she died. She is said to have been fascinating. Judge Henry M.

Brackenridge said all of Colonel Neville's children were as beautiful as the children of Niobe (4). The glowing language of the poem on her name, which Tarlton Bates wrote, indicated that the young Virginian was in love with her when she was a girl. The burial place of Mrs. Simms is still to be seen, marked as it is by a stone slab covering the entire grace (5) but the grave of the elegant Tarlton Bates, who admired her so, disappeared many years ago.

In 1821 Thomas Cannon, together with his family, removed from Wilkinsburg to Pittsburgh, into a house situated on Sixth Street, opposite the Episcopal burying-ground. He had a daughter named Jane, then about six years of age. Here the family resided for six or seven years. Jane married and became Jane Grey Swisshelm, and a famous woman in many spheres. In her autobiography, published in 1880, she gives her recollections of the Episcopal and Presbyterian graveyards. The Episcopal burying-ground was "a thickly peopled graveyard," she wrote. It and the Presbyterian churchyard were above the level of the street, and "were protected by a worm fence that ran along the top of a green bank," where the children of the neighborhood played and gathered flowers. Sixth Street was unpaved and there were no gaslights, and when Jane's grandmother or bachelor uncle, in the solemnity of the night took the little girl to walk in the burying-grounds, she believed that they were people with the ghosts of the dead who were buried there; and she relates that when in 1824 the Trinity congregation began to excavate for the foundation of the church, which they proposed to erect in their graveyard, "there was a great desecration of graves" (6).

W. G. Lyford in a letter from Pittsburgh dated December 15, 1836, described the two burying-grounds. In language intended to be facetious but which is merely flippant, he said: "On entering the churchyard, in Sixth Street, I was forcibly struck with the singular order in which the sepultures for the dead were arranged—some at 'heads and points,' if I may be allowed the privilege of making light comparisons with grave subjects—and others, as a seaman would say, 'athwart-hawse.' The slabs appeared older than their inscriptions seemed to indicate, and, from the delapidation of many of the tombs, I suppose the deposits to have been the first in the city. I could decipher the epitaph, however, of only one octogenarian—George McGunnegle, who died in 1821, aged 85. There reposed, however, the remains of Capt. Nathaniel Irish, a Revolutionary officer, born in 1737, died in 1816" (7).



Trinity Church, Sixth Avenue, as it appeared in 1870, when taken down to make way for the present structure.

But the sleeping place of the dead in the early days must have been an attractive spot. "How pleasant the spreading trees! How green the sods which covered the graves! An oasis amidst the dust and bustle of a growing city," was the description of the Rev. Richard Lea, who knew the burying-grounds since 1813 (8).

As other churches came into existence, they generally also established burying-grounds, either about their churches, or in some other part of the city, or in one of the neighboring townships, and many burials were made in them. The Trinity churchyard and the Presbyterian churchyard combined, after deducting the area occupied by the buildings, contained less than one acre. They constituted indeed a veritable "God's acre." And notwithstanding the establishment of the other burying-grounds, the old churchyards had become so crowded with graves that when Isaac Craig was a boy (he was born on July 12, 1822), "they never dug a grave without encroaching upon other graves" (9). William G. Johnston, who was born in Pittsburgh on August 22, 1828, in the reminiscenses of his boyhood, gives similar testimony when telling of the sexton of the Presbyterian church preparing graves. "And I fancy too that I can again see him as with other boys, I have sometimes watched him digging graves in the old churchyard, now and then tossing up bones, a matter of special interest to us on such occasions" (10).

In 1869, when Trinity Church was preparing to build the present edifice, it procured the passage of a law by the Pennsylvania legislature authorizing the congregation, "in case of all unmarked or unknown graves to remove and place the remains underneath the church or chapel which is proposed to be erected." In 1877, the Rev. S. F. Scovel, the pastor of the First Presbyterian church, made a similar suggestion in regard to certain graves in the burying-ground of his church. In the classic language for which he was noted, he said "that about half a dozen graves, it was expected might remain *in situ* covered by the buildings which it was proposed to erect." (11).

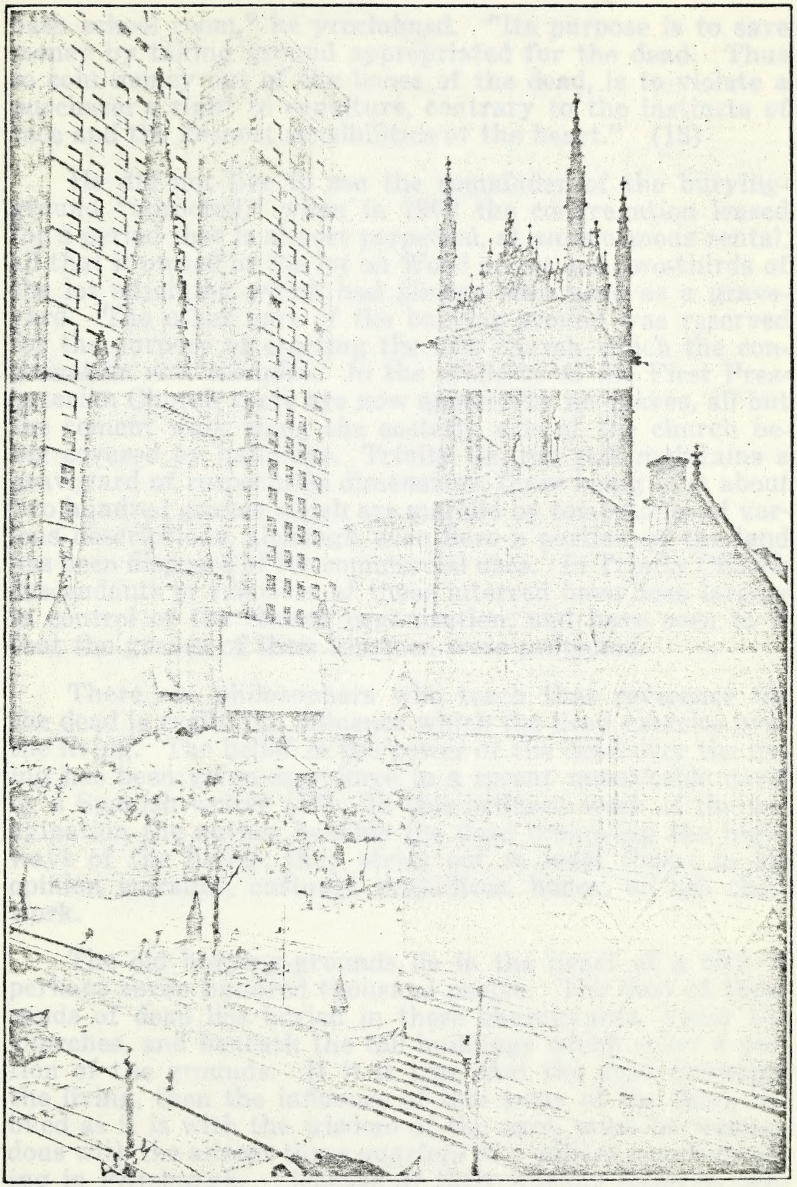
The conduct of the burying-grounds seemed to have become chaotic. The first great despoilment of graves in the Presbyterian burying-ground took place when the Sunday school building was erected in 1826 (12), and the next when the third church was built in 1853, which was large and extended a considerable distance over the lot used for burials. When Trinity Chapel was built in the early seventies of the

last century in addition to the graves marked by tombstones, about four hundred graves were uncovered. In the Presbyterian burying-ground the graves were even more numerous. Many of the graves were deprived of their headstones. Other tombstones were removed from their proper places, the ground was leveled, and there was nothing to indicate that anyone was buried there. Isaac Craig said the gravestones were used as curbstones (13). Probably after the year 1844, when steps were taken to establish Allegheny Cemetery, very few interments took place in either burying-ground although they were not permanently closed until 1848 or 1849, and even after that period there was an occasional interment, notably that of James S. Stevenson and Charles P. Shiras. After that time many of the bodies were disinterred and removed to Allegheny Cemetery.

Thousands have been laid to rest in that single acre. It must be borne in mind that in the old days of these burying-grounds, the birth rate, and the mortality among the children were both larger than at present. Life, even with the more wealthy, was a constant struggle, food was coarse and illy prepared, clothing deficient, and the habitations were far from being the comfortable dwellings of today. Then, too, medical science was as crude as the homes where the physicians practiced. People did not live as long as they do today. It was rare for men or women to attain the age of eighty years. When anyone reached that age it was remarked upon, as was done by W. G. Lyford when he came across the grave of the octogenarian, George McGunnegle, in Trinity churchyard. It is not exaggeration to say that during the ninety-five years that the old burying-ground is known to have been used as such, there were at least four thousand interments.

Judge Daniel Agnew, who was chief justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania when the case of Craig and Guthrie against the First Presbyterian Church was argued, in an address delivered before the Allegheny County Bar Association on December 1, 1888, gave utterance to sentiments strongly antagonistic to the removal of the dead from the Presbyterian churchyard. He declared that the "uprooting" of the old burying-ground was an "act of vandalism," and called attention to the fact that he had dissented to the opinion of the Supreme Court in that case. (14)

In this dissenting opinion the venerable jurist used language that was still more indignant. "I deny the right of removal for individual or private interest, whether it be for building a lecture room for a church congregation, or a Sab-



Trinity Court Studio, R. W. Johnston.

First Presbyterian Church and Trinity Church Today.
Oliver Building on the left.

bath school room," he proclaimed. "Its purpose is to save money by taking ground appropriated for the dead. Thus to coin money out of the bones of the dead, is to violate a purchaser's right to sepulture, contrary to the instincts of race and the keenest sensibilities of the heart." (15)

He did not live to see the remainder of the burying-ground "uprooted," when in 1902 the congregation leased for a period that is almost perpetual, at an enormous rental, all that it owned of the lot on Wood street and two-thirds of the lot adjoining which had always been used as a graveyard. The other part of the burying-ground was reserved for the purpose of erecting the new church which the congregation now occupies. In the property of the First Presbyterian Church there are now apparently no graves, all but the cement walk along the easterly side of the church being covered by buildings. Trinity Church still maintains a graveyard of respectable dimensions, there being in it about two hundred graves which are marked by tombstones of various descriptions, although even here a portion of the land has been disposed of for commercial uses. In Trinity Church descendants or relatives of those interred have been largely in control of the church organization, and have seen to it that the graves of their kinsmen were protected.

There are philosophers who teach that reverence for the dead is really the influence which the dead exercise over the living. The belief in the power of the dead over the living has been given new force in a recent remarkable novel by a Spanish writer (16). In this brilliant work of the imagination the author beholds the dead occupying the highways of the living; they stride out to meet them; in his opinion morality, customs, prejudices, honor, all are their work.

The old burying-grounds lie in the heart of a city of perhaps seven hundred thousand people. The dust of thousands of dead lies buried in these churchyards, under the churches, and beneath the tall buildings which cover a portion of the grounds. If it is true that the dead command the living, then the influence of this army of the dead, imbued as it is with the wisdom of the ages, must be tremendous with the almost three quarters of a million people dwelling in Pittsburgh. Cleansed of their worldly failures, deficiencies, errors, delinquencies and transgressions, they would possess a transcendant power for good in every sphere of human life, religion, government, society, morals, education, science, art, literature, commerce, and industry.

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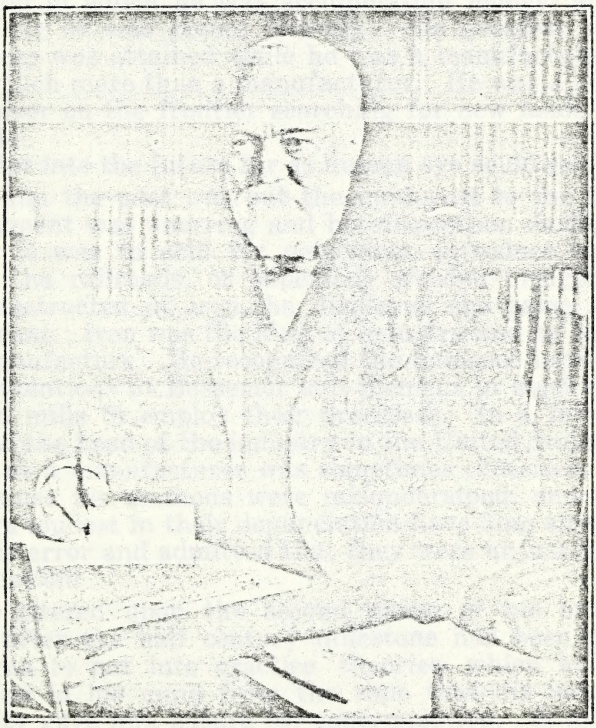

Andrew Carnegie in his Library.

Andrew Carnegie in his Library.

ANDREW CARNEGIE

Andrew Carnegie died at his summer home at Lennox, Massachusetts on the 11th of last August, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. A great man has gone.

His life may be divided into two parts. The first was the period in which he was accumulating money, and the other while he was giving it away. His greatest success in business was attained while he was a manufacturer, but he was much more than a manufacturer. He was a pioneer, he was ever on the frontier searching for new lands to exploit. He

"Dipt into the future far as human eye could see."

To him the past was but the guidepost to the future. His judgment was unerring and his disposition daring, and whether it was to drill for petroleum, introduce sleeping cars on the railroads, or supersede wooden bridges with those constructed of iron, he displayed the same superb discernment. Iron was the king of industry and he engaged in its manufacture. He recognized the immense importance of the inventions of Bessemer and Siemens in steel and established mills to employ their processes. In a few years he was at the head of the industry in the United States. His conduct as a manufacturer was sometimes criticised, but it was because his methods were misunderstood, and those who were loudest in their denunciation have long since realized their error and admitted that they were unjust in their condemnation.

He entered upon the second phase of his existence shortly after the half century milestone had been passed, and began to put into practice theories which had been developing in his mind from the time that his increasing prosperity gave him leisure for contemplation. In his "The Gospel of Wealth," he proclaimed the doctrine that riches are "a sacred trust to be administered for the general good;" that wealth comes from and should return to the community.

His earliest practical demonstration of this precept was to supply libraries to the public, and in the years that have since passed not less than three thousand public library buildings were erected at his expense. He branched out into other lines. He assisted in providing organs for eight thousand churches. He founded the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh, with its library, music hall, art galleries,

museum and institute of technology. The Carnegie Institution of Washington was established "to encourage investigation, research and discovery". Then there were the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission, and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, whose primary object is to provide pensions for retiring college professors and their widows. These institutions he endowed with sums aggregating almost two hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars. His total gifts exceeded in amount those ever given by any other person in the world.

He was the product of Pittsburgh. It was here that real life opened to him; it was in this city that his mind developed and matured, here that his early plans were made and his great financial triumphs achieved. In Allegheny, now a part of Pittsburgh, he passed his boyhood and it was there that his first library was established. The ceremonies at the completion of the building on the evening of February 20, 1890, will ever be an event in the history of this city. The president of the United States, Benjamin Harrison, was there, as was James A. Beaver, the governor of the state, and Andrew Carnegie. The culture and refinement, the wealth and beauty of Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania, were in attendance. Persons who were present on that memorable occasion still recall Andrew Carnegie's charming address. He was the one to be grateful for being permitted to make the gift, he said; and he dwelt on the fact that Allegheny was his earliest home in the United States. He referred to the tender associations of his boyhood which clustered around the vicinity, and declared that no other spot on earth could fill the place which the city held in his heart.

Andrew Carnegie is dead, but his memory will continue to live. Every thoughtful Pittsburgher is proud to remember that he once dwelt here. The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania esteems it a high honor to have had him on its membership rolls for more than a quarter of a century.

AN INDIAN LOVE SONG

By Willard Wattles

I have seen him in the firelight when he stepped from out the forest
And he stood before my father with the flames upon his face,
Straight and tall and feather-footed and a quiver o'er his shoulder,
And my heart leaped in the shadows for the fire of his embrace.

I have seen her in the starlight when the lonely owl was calling
And the ripples of the quiet pool threw twilight at her feet,
Like the night her hair was falling and I saw her body gleaming
As she poised above the waters like a swallow dusk and fleet,

I have seen him at the hunt when he knew not I was watching
And he ran before the others like the sun before the stars
And his arrow found its quarry and he stripped the shining deer-skin
And I saw upon his glowing arms a hundred whitened scars.

I have seen her at the grinding when the corn was on the mortar
And the little smoky baking fire went drifting up so white,
And her hands were swift and knowing as she knelt upon the hemlocks,
The song she sang was comforting, and oh, her eyes were bright.

I will rise and bind my forehead with a band of beaded doe-skin
I will wind the porcupine's sharp quills within my loosened hair,
And on my feet the moccasins my mother measured for me,
Then sleep, but first to Manitou make offering of prayer.

I have pulled the shining water-reeds and shaped them into music,
I will stand before her wigwam when the evening-star is low,
She shall hear the haunting whip-poor-will and hearken to his calling
In the twilight for his mate to nest where the quiet waters flow.

I have heard a sound of silver, it has crept behind the curtains
And the embers at the doorway fade, I fear them not at all.
There's a shadow at the water's edge has waited since the sunset,
A shadow at the water's edge, and shadowy his call.

She is coming nearer, nearer, and her feet are on the grasses,
Her face is like the cooling wind, her hand a petalled flower.
Her breath is sweet with arbutus and lovely pink azalea-bloom,
And all the years are scattered smoke, but deathless is this hour.

—*Contemporary Verse.*

LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM FINDLEY

BY ROBERT M. EWING*

In a neglected spot in what is known as Unity burial ground in Westmoreland County, can be seen a modest tombstone bearing this inscription:

The Venerable
William Findley
Departed this life,
April 5, 1821,
In the 80th year,
Of his age.

There is nothing in this to indicate that William Findley was a commanding figure in Western Pennsylvania; nothing to indicate that he performed an active part in national affairs covering a long period of time.

We shall endeavor to show him to you as not only a prominent man locally, but one who served his country in its national councils for a longer period than ordinarily fell to the lot of men in his day, or falls to the lot of men in more recent times; and shall show you, perhaps, that his record as a man of standing and influence has not been handed down to posterity with the same zeal as that of men less worthy.

His life was a busy one. The records show that as a public man, he was a schoolmaster; a member of the Cumberland County Committee of Observation; elected but declined to serve as a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1776; served on the County Board of Assessors in Cumberland County and aided in levying the first taxes under the Constitution of 1776.

He was captain of a company in the Eighth Battalion Cumberland County Associators and was in active service; was member of the Pennsylvania Convention that ratified the Federal Constitution of 1787. A member of the Council of Censors of Pennsylvania, he was also a member of the convention that framed the state constitution of 1790; was a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives; one of the two commissioners appointed by the four

* Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on Tuesday, November 30, 1915.

western counties of Pennsylvania to interview President Washington at Carlisle concerning important matters during the Whisky Insurrection. For twenty years he represented Westmoreland County in the national congress; and in the midst of these activities found time to develop in a modest way his talents as an author. His best known work is a *History of the Insurrection in the Four Western Counties of Pennsylvania,* or more commonly known as the "Whisky Insurrection."

A life so full of activity might well be viewed in retrospect almost a century after it came to a close.

But little is known of his early life except that he was born in Ireland in 1741 or 1742, a descendant of one of the signers of the Solemn League and Covenant in Scotland, possessing a strictly religious education. He tells us that his father had a larger library of church history and divinity than many of his neighbors, and in his declining years he expressed himself as being under lasting obligations for the help given him by access to his father's library.

He came to America and to Pennsylvania in 1763, when he was about twenty-one years of age, and taught school for a number of years at or near Waynesboro in what is now Franklin County, but at all times had a strong desire to settle in what was then so commonly called the Western Country, and his apparent reason for not coming farther west at that time was the frequency of Indian raids that made the situation dangerous for the zealous emigrant.

It was while in Cumberland County that he played his part in the defense of his country as a soldier and by aiding in the establishment of what has proven to be such a stable system of government; and we must keep in mind that those were times that tried men's souls.

When some degree of order was brought out of the chaotic Revolutionary times, William Findley purchased land and settled on it near the village of Youngstown, in Westmoreland County, not far from the present site of Latrobe, and until his death in 1821 this was his home. The line of the Pennsylvania Railroad now passes through his farm and his residence was near the present location of the Monastery Coke Works.

The theory of Dr. Osler does not hold good in the case of this man, for at the age of about forty he entered a new field of activity and it seems was just in the vestibule of his life work.

For several years he tilled his land and plied the shut-

tle for he was a weaver by trade, and wove many a web of cloth for his neighbors, wove fabrics of flax and wool and linsey-woolsey, and as a result of this activity he was often called "Old Treadles" when he became enmeshed in political life. John N. Boucher, Esq., in his *History of Westmoreland County* (and to this History and that of G. Dallas Albert, Esq., we are indebted for much information,) says "In religion he was by birth a Covenanter, but settling in a strong Presbyterian section he connected himself with that church and remained with it through life. In church affairs as in everything else he was a leader. He was not so well educated as many of the prominent men of his day, but he had the confidence of all classes both high and low, and in this he surpassed all men in our county."

There was evidently something about him that appealed strongly to the masses and we soon find him the choice of the people as their representative in the Pennsylvania Council of Censors and in the state Legislature, and it was here in the state Legislature that he first came in contact with Hugh Henry Brackenridge, the representative from that part of the county which later became Allegheny County. Brackenridge was a soldier, orator, philosopher, lawyer, and man of culture who from the very first crossed swords with Findley on the issue of forming Allegheny County out of Westmoreland, Brackenridge, as may be supposed, advocating a new county and Findley leading the opposition. These men it appears were both of an ambitious nature and always political enemies, and Brackenridge never lost an opportunity to direct the shaft of satire at Findley. We are told that "the individual and political character of no public man of his day was more bitterly attacked than that of Findley," and yet he withstood it with credit as we shall see.

He sat with Gen. Arthur St. Clair on the Executive Council and while not hostile to each other in a personal sense, they were usually found opposing one another for St. Clair was a Federalist and Findley a Democrat.

This Council of Censors, as students of history know, was authorized by the Constitution of 1776. Two persons in each city and county of the state, were elected by ballot, "whose duty, amongst others, it was to inquire whether the constitution had been preserved inviolate in every part and whether the legislative and executive branches of the government had performed their duty as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves, or exercised other or greater powers than they were entitled to by the constitution."

In this body he was a leading figure and on many important committees, not, however, entirely overlooking his personal interest for we find in a minute of a meeting held March 24, 1790 this action: "The Comptroller and Register General reports upon the account of William Findley, Esq., for the hire of his team taken into the public service in 1778, amounting to thirteen pounds, one shilling, was read and approved."

As a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789 he introduced a measure which he tried to have incorporated in the organic law of the state, providing that in all parts of the state, the children of poor parents should be taught at the state's expense. The people were not ready for such a measure. Nearly forty years afterwards, however, Thaddeus Stevens by sheer force of his mighty intellect, put a similar provision on the statute books in opposition to the direct instructions of his constituents, and for this daring act has since been revered by every right thinking man, woman and child in Pennsylvania. "Yet the level headed old Westmoreland weaver, more than a generation before, and when Stevens was yet unborn, advocated the same measure, and proved himself to be far in advance of his age."

His character, ability and courage as a state legislator soon brought him into such prominence that he was called upon to represent Pennsylvania in Congress.* Elected in 1790, taking his seat in 1791, he served continuously with the exception of four years until 1817, an aggregate of twenty years, and it seems to be generally conceded that he would have continued to represent his district until his death in 1821 had he not positively declined re-election.

By reason of his long service in Congress he was known as the "Father of the House," a term even now applied to the senior member in point of service, and but recently held by a member from Pennsylvania.

In addition to a record for honesty and integrity he possessed wonderful powers as a campaigner. Visiting the farmer in his fields and plowing a few furrows, or lifting his full share at house and barn raisings he made the masses

*Members of the First and Second Congress from Pennsylvania (1789-1793) were elected on a general ticket for the whole state. William Findley was elected on such a ticket to the Second Congress (1791-1793). On March 16, 1791, a bill was passed by the General Assembly of the state dividing it into eight congressional districts, Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington and Allegheny counties comprising one district, which was represented in the Third Congress (1793-1795) by William Findley.—Ed.

feel that he was one of them, in other words, he was a man of the common people who largely predominated, and they remained loyal to him as long as he lived.

This popularity of Findley with the masses made him to some extent unpopular with other ambitious gentlemen. We are told that on one occasion Brackenridge was called to account for opposing Findley because he had been a weaver, to which he wittily replied "that he did not oppose him because he was a weaver but because he was nothing else than a weaver." Boucher tells us, however, that Findley was much more than a weaver and was perhaps stronger out of Congress than in it. The Scotch-Irish were always loyal to him to a man and he was revered by them and by the people generally.

G. Dallas Albert, in his *History of Westmoreland County,* says of him: "Findley was a consumate politician, and something more than a mere puller of threads and a disentangler of skeins.' He helped to shape political opinion here as much as any other man in Western Pennsylvania in his day."

It is also said of him: "He was a fluent talker in conversation but made few if any public addresses. While he could not address a public meeting, he could organize one, shape its actions to suit himself and get from it in the end all that he desired. He was in other words, a natural born leader of the people."

We have referred to the bitter attacks made upon him by his political opponents. This is accounted for in part at least by reason of his positive convictions on all public questions and policies, and the courage of his convictions which he exhibited to an unusual degree. The further fact that there does not seem to have been a public man in Western Pennsylvania in those days so loved by the common people, may have and apparently did create political jealousies. This position is reflected in a measure by a writer in the *Farmer's Register,* the one newspaper published in Greensburg at that time, who as late as Aug. 15, 1823, over two years after Findley's death, said: "In 1817 we were required to vote, but were denied the right of choice; we had freedom of thought, speech and action but were forbidden to favor opposition to William Findley." Incidentally this *Farmer's Register* was in those days a very usual method used by politicians to reach the people, and many columns were written by Findley on a variety of questions of a public and political nature and published, under the *nom de plume* of "Sidney" before the public knew who the writer was. So

far as we can learn no one, even his bitterest political enemies, questioned his honesty and integrity, and all were free to admit that whether in public or political life he would not knowingly deviate from the truth, but some did claim that his prejudices were strong and that they sometimes biased his judgment. That he lived in peace with his neighbors and acqaintances in private life is vouched for by Findley himself in these words: "I have always been happy in having few enemies in private life and consider it a consoling reflection in my advanced age that I have never had a quarrel with a neighbor. However, if it is my lot to have enemies, though I may regret the circumstance, yet my regret will be the less if I have given no just cause of offense. It would give me sensible pain to know that any conduct of mine had given cause of offense to a good man."

In the days of trouble and distress by reason of Indian raids, his advice was sought by Governor Mifflin and Secretary of State Dallas and the correspondence that passed between them as it appears in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, indicates that he was considered a wise and a safe counsellor.

But the testing time came when the Four Western Counties were in the throes of that which for a time seemed to threaten the safety of that government for which Findley and many other men struggled so valiantly to establish. It was called the Whisky Insurrection, and for a time not only Findley but John Smilie, of Fayette County, Hugh Henry Brackenridge of Allegheny County, Albert Gallatin and others, were under a cloud of suspicion of having aided and abetted a rebellion, but history today is less critical and these men are vindicated, and it is now generally conceded that they were loyal but misunderstood.

The Declaration of Rights of 1776, among other things, says: "That the people have a right to assemble together to consult for their common good, to instruct their representatives and to apply to the Legislators for the redress of grievances, by address, petition or remonstrance."

When therefore, the excise law was imposed on this Western country it was a great hardship and Findley and others in aiding their constituents to avail themselves of the Declaration of Rights which I have just quoted, especially after a few people lost their heads and committed depredations, if not openly accused of aiding and abetting a violation of law, were at least reflected upon very severely.

This opposition came in a great measure from Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, for it was his pet excise measure that was assailed, and when meetings

were held remonstrating against the law, and in which plans were devised to procure its repeal, Hamilton called it insubordination or rebellion and Findley took issue with him and asserted in vigorous terms the rights of the people under the constitution, holding that a citizen rather than be assailed for remonstrating against an existing law should be protected in it; and his writings on this subject show a remarkable breadth of vision. Says he: "It will not do to say that to hold meetings to remonstrate against the passing of a law is admissible, but that to remonstrate against an existing law is improper. Such doctrine in this extensive country is absurd, for it must always happen, that a great proportion of the people, who are to be governed by the laws, know nothing about them until they are enacted or are in operation, consequently cannot petition against their passage.

"It is equally absurd to assert, that because our laws are enacted by our representatives, therefore we ought to submit to them without remonstrance, till our representatives who know our circumstances, and partake of our interests, think proper to repeal them. This doctrine is supported by a presumption, that a government of representatives can never mistake the true interests of their constituents, nor be corrupted or fall into partial combinations, whereas the contrary is presumable from the nature of man and verified by immemorial experience."

We cannot here discuss the insurrection but it appears that Governor Mifflin as early as 1792 wrote to Findley about the condition of the affairs—the temper of the people—in these counties and in replying Findley says: "That the injustice of being obliged to pay as much excise out of two shillings with difficulty procured, as other citizens better situated, have to pay out of perhaps three times that sum, much easier obtained, comes home to the understanding of those who cannot comprehend theories."

One writer says that his connection with the Whisky Insurrection is against him yet the very criticism is soon turned into eulogy of his character when he says: "Probably the example of so eminent and just a man led many weaker men astray, but at all events he was no worse than Gallatin and Brackenridge. Of all these he came first to a true realization of the situation and after that did all he could to rectify the errors he had committed." It truly takes a big man to freely admit his mistakes and if this writer's view of Findley's actions in connection with this Insurrection are true, he exhibited a meritorious trait of character and gave

proof of great statesmanship.

This same writer says: "William Findley was after Arthur St. Clair the most prominent man of his day in Westmoreland County. Those who are familiar with the Whisky Insurrection cannot fail to remember the faith our people had in him at that time, yet he lived more than a quarter of a century after that, and his hold upon the people increased constantly from year to year."

The activities and accomplishments of this man command our admiration. His writings alone commend themselves to the people, and did so very largely in the early days. We have referred to his writings in the *Farmer's Register* under the *nom de plume* of "Sidney." In 1794 he published quite an extensive "Review of the Funding System" and in 1796 a *History of the Insurrection in the Four Western Counties* or, as we call it, the "Whisky Insurrection." This publication of over three hundred pages written by one whom we have been told was by far the most noted man connected with it, and within two years after most of the incidents happened, could not but be interesting. In reading it and re-reading it we have been impressed with the splendid character and ability of the writer.

In the preface to the book he says: "I had many reasons for wishing this work to have been performed by some other hand. To write impartially of transactions wherein so many living characters are concerned is not desirable, and can scarcely fail of being censured by some. However, being conscious that I am not influenced by hopes or fears, and being at a time, and in a situation of life, that leaves me little to dread or hope, from the frowns or favors of party, or of men in power, I have studied impartially the characters I have delineated, and the facts which I have stated." He was fifty-six years of age when he thus writes about "little to dread or hope from frowns or favors of party, or of men in power," yet we find him still in Congress twenty-one years afterwards.

He proceeds to give his account of this insurrection covering 238 pages of the book and then lays aside all reserve and for about sixty pages pays his respects to Alexander Hamilton, who apparently was antagonistic to Gallatin, Findley and others in the Western counties who were politically opposed to him. One quotation will indicate his sentiments toward Hamilton.

"The blunders even of wise men are sometimes astonishing. However, I believe, we are not warranted in giving the appellation of wisdom to such persons as are destitute of

honor and virtue, let their station be ever so brilliant, or their influence ever so powerful. The reader will be able to judge for himself, how far the Secretary's conduct was directed by wisdom, or governed by the principles of honour and virtue."

Findley was also the author of *Observations on "The Two Sons of Oil"* containing a vindication of the American constitutions and defining the blessings of religious liberty and toleration. *The Two Sons of Oil* had been published by its author and contained assaults upon the United States Constitution and although in some manner publication was suppressed, Findley in the belief that the poisonous utterance contained in it required an answer from some one, undertook the task and in this volume written by him when at the age of three score and ten, is evidence of the wonderful intellect, ability and general knowledge that he had acquired in the busy years that had gone before. It was from a perusal of this volume which like the *History of the Insurrection,* is difficult to obtain, that we find some interesting sidelights on the man coming from his own lips. What is more impressive than this? "Having been also engaged in the early committees, etc., which promoted the independence of the United States, and in making and ratifying the constitutions of this state and of the United States, and for so long a period in one or the other of them, it appeared to me to be my duty to engage in their vindication when they were so grossly traduced. These reasons had such weight on my mind as to induce me to make observations on this extraordinary work, notwithstanding that my other engagements, and time of life, might have afforded a strong apology for declining it." In this book he took advanced ground, much ahead of his time when we consider that he and most of his people were born and bred under the English government.

The tendency to go into a review of his writings is strong but must be curtailed and we must confine ourselves to a brief description of the personality and home life of our subject before we conclude. He is described as being a large man, of light complexion, clean shaven and very tasty in his dress. He always wore, when away from home, knee breeches, a shad bellied coat, and long waistcoat. These with silk stockings and a cue completed his makeup, but while at home they were changed to homespun garments and a white felt hat.

Going to Congress in his day was an event, and Findley always went on horseback, for which he kept a special horse.

Great preparations were made on the occasion of these trips for he would leave in time for the first session in December, and not return until its close sometime in the following July or August, and from letters that we have had access to we learn that he made many purchases in Philadelphia for his neighbors and packed them across the mountains upon his return trip.

While not an orator he did participate to a considerable extent in debates while in Congress and delivered several memorable addresses, but reference will only be made to one or two near the close of his public career. On the Loan Bill that was considered on February 12, 1814, during our war with Great Britian, he delivered an address that the Hon. Thomas H. Benton in his *Abridgment of Debates in Congress* thought of sufficient importance to quote in full, covering many pages. This now somewhat decripit old man arose and said among other things: "Mr. Chairman: I have voted for the declaration of war, and for the means necessary to carry it on. * * * I now claim the attention of the committee to a few of the reasons that determined me to vote for war, and the means of carrying it on with effect. * * * This is the third declaration of war that I have lived to see, and I have read of many more. I believe of most that have been declared in Europe on the system that has been adopted for two centuries past; and I have observed but very few of them declared on grounds so perfectly justifiable as that in which we are now engaged.

"I have, sir, heard one, if not more respectable and honorable members, to give weight to their arguments in opposition to this war, mention that they had learned their politics in the old school—the school at Washington. You, sir, I know, consider old men to be privileged to some extent to talk about themselves. * * * I will make some use of the privilege, because this will be connected with my argument. I am, sir, now an old man. I have the frost of seventy years on my head. I am a scholar of the old school—of the school of Washington.

"I was elected a member of the first committee appointed to promote independence, in a very respectable and then, very extensive old county of the same state that I have the honor of representing in this House. I was employed in confidential stations to support it when declared. I risked my very life oftener than once, in situations where several of my friends fell, to give it the support I thought it deserved.

"When the present government was put in operation and General Washington was appointed President, I was consult-

ed by him about the circumstances and defense of the Western country before I had the honor of a seat in Congress; and owing to particular circumstances, was more intimate with and more consulted by President Washington and the members of his administration than I have been by any succeeding one. Therefore, I claim a right to be a desciple of that school, and perhaps the oldest in this House." He then proceeds with this argument, and in answer to some apparent reflections by his opponents, as to why he, who had been under English rule, should take the stand he did, somewhere near the middle of his speech, uses this language.

"I really do not understand how happening to draw my first breath in a particular spot can bring me under a moral obligation of perpetual allegiance to that spot under penalty of being guilty of treason. * * * I have been taught to believe that the law of nature, which is the law of nature's God, made it the duty of every man to consult and pursue his own happiness, and that this conduced to the general happiness. The same supreme law also taught me that I could not be brought under a positive moral obligation but by a conscious act of my own will. Now, sir, I am not conscious of when or where I drew my first breath; my will was not consulted about it; it was not my voluntary act. I was wholly passive in that matter. Wherefore, no moral obligation can arise from it to bind my conscience to perpetual allegiance to that spot of earth.

"If this reasoning be correct, I conclude that I am not guilty of the high crime of treason; that I am not a traitor. About twenty years after the time I was told I had drawn my first breath consulting my own happiness I came to Pennsylvania where I have resided for more than half a century. I have found that doing so conduced to my own happiness and the happiness of those with whom I am connected. I have a fairly numerous family of children and grandchildren who as far as they have grown up, bear true allegiance to the country of my choice but do not consider themselves as slaves to the soil on which they were born because they happened to draw their first breath in it."

And on January 14, 1817, when the Compensation Law was up for consideration, Thomas H. Benton in reporting the proceeding says: "Mr. Findley of Pennsylvania next rose to speak on the subject. His rising occasioned a deviation from the usual order of the House, by the members crowding around him, which may be attributed to the general respect for his years, experience and intelligence."

We have tried to show this man in his true light. We

know it is imperfectly done, but honestly done for he would not have a word of commendation that he did not deserve.

We are impressed with the fact that Findley was first of all an American from the day he landed on our shores; and that he would have scorned the term hyphenated American if applied to him; Oh, I think after reading his writings and his speeches and particularly his speech in Congress upon the Loan Bill in 1814 all breathing of the patriotism that was in his heart, that he must have greatly rejoiced at the repulse of the British at Baltimore in September 1814, and after the bombardment of Fort McHenry when Francis Scott Key was inspired to compose that enduring example of patriotic verse, how he must have been impressed to hear these lines: "Blest with victory and peace, May the Heaven rescued land, Praise the power that hath made and preserved us a Nation."

And methinks he would have wept tears of joy had he been permitted to see even in prophetic vision the *"Old Liberty Bell"* as it passed but recently in triumphal procession through the old county of Westmoreland and through the very farm upon which he resided for almost a half century.

Pittsburgh Newspapers Loaned and Donated to The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

THE PITTSBURGH GAZETTE

September 22, December 29, 1829.
January 1, December 31, 1830.
January 4, September 16, 1831.
September 20, December 31, 1831.
January 1, December 31, 1832.
January 3, March 15, 1833.
March 22, December 31, 1833.
January 1, July 29, 1834.
July 31, December 31, 1834.
January 1, June 29, 1835.
July 3, December 31, 1835.
January 1, July 29, 1836.
July 30, December 28, 1836.
January 1, July 28, 1837.
July 29, December 30, 1837.
January 1, June 30, 1838.
July 2, December 31, 1838.
January 1, July 26, 1839.
July 29, December 31, 1839.
January 1, December 30, 1840.
January 8, December 30, 1841.
January 1, July 16, 1842.
July 20. December 30, 1842.
January 3, December 30, 1848.
January 1, December 24, 1849.
January 1, December 30, 1850.
January 1, December 31, 1851.
January 1, December 31, 1852.
January 1, December 29, 1853.
January 3, December 30, 1854.
January 2, December 29, 1855.
January 1, December 31, 1856.
January 1, June 30, 1857.
July 1, December 31, 1857.
January 1, December 31, 1858.
January 5, December 30, 1859.
January 1, December 31, 1860.
January 1, June 29, 1861.
July 2, December 30, 1861.
January 1, December 31, 1862.
January 2, June 30, 1871.
July 1, December 31, 1871.
January 1, June 30, 1872.
July 1, December 29, 1872.
January 1, June 30, 1873.
July 3, December 31, 1873.

THE PITTSBURGH POST

January 1, September 30, 1850.
October 1, December 31, 1850.
January 2, June 7, 1851.
June 9, December 29, 1851.
January 1, April 2, 1852.
April 4, December 31, 1852.
January 1, December 30, 1853.
January 1, December 31, 1854.
January 1, December 29, 1855.
January 1, December 31, 1856.
January 1, December 30, 1857.
January 1, December 29, 1858.
January 2, December 29, 1859.
January 3, December 31, 1860.
January 1, June 30, 1861.
July 1, December 31, 1861.
January 3, December 31, 1862.
January 1, December 29, 1869.
January 2, December 31, 1870.
January 2, June 30, 1871.
July 1, December 28, 1871.
January 1, June 29, 1872.
July 1, December 31, 1872.
January 3, December 30, 1873.

PITTSBURGH DAILY COMMERCIAL JOURNAL

January 1, December 31, 1845.
January 1, December 30, 1846.
November 16, December 31, 1847.
January 1, November 7, 1848.
January 1, June 30, 1850.
January 1, December 31, 1851.
January 1, June 30, 1852.
July 1, December 31, 1852.
January 1, June 30, 1853.
July 6, December 30, 1853.
January 1, June 30, 1854.
July 7, December 30, 1854.
January 3, June 29, 1855.
July 2, December 30, 1855.
January 1, June 29, 1856.
July 1, December 31, 1856.
January 3, June 30, 1857.
July 1, December 31, 1857.
January 4, June 30, 1858.
July 3, December 25, 1858.

PITTSBURGH DAILY COMMERCIAL

September 7, December 31, 1863.
January 1, February 27, 1864.
January 2, June 30. 1871.
July 1, December 29, 1871.
January 3, June 30, 1872.
July 2, December 31, 1872.

PITTSBUGH DAILY ADVOCATE AND ADVERTISER

September 20, December 30, 1837
January 1, December 29, 1838.
January 1, September 30, 1839.
January 2, June 30, 1840.

PITTSBURGH WEEKLY MERCURY AND MANUFACTURER

January 27, September 30, 1844.
January 9, April 30, 1845.

PITTSBURGH WEEKLY ADVOCATE AND EMPORIUM

January 29, December 31, 1841.
January 1, June 30, 1842.

PITTSBURGH MERCURY AND ALLEGHENY DEMOCRAT

March 17, December 29, 1841.
January 5, October 30, 1842.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Presbyterian Advocate, Pittsburgh, January 5, 1842.
The Allegheny Democrat, Pittsburgh. February 3, 24, 1841.
Iron City and Pittsburgh Weekly Chronicle, Pittsburgh, January 8, 1842.
Weekly Advocate and Emporium, Pittsburgh, December 3, 1841.
Mercury and Allegheny Democrat, Pittsburgh, December 1, 1841.
Pittsburgh Intelligencer, Pittsburgh. January 5, 1842.
The Daily American, Pittsburgh, January 1, 1842.
The Morning Chronicle, Pittsburgh. January 8, 1842.
The Pittsburgh Daily Sun, Pittsburgh, May 27, 1842.
The Pittsburght Gazette, Pittsburgh. October 17, 1823.
The Pittsburgh Gazette, April 1, Aust 1, 1841.
Pittsburgh Daily American, April 1, August 18, 1841.
Pittsburgh Gazette, January 1, October 30, 1841
Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle, January 1, March 4, 1841
The Pittsburgh Dispatch, December 31, 1859.
The Pittsburgh Dispatch, December 24. 1855.
The Pittsburgh Dispatch, March 28, 1861.
Weekly Pittsburgh Dispatch, "Memorial Number of President Lincoln," Saturday, April 22, 1865.
Centennial Celebration Keepsake, Pittsburgh, November 25, 1856.
The Commercial Gazette, Pittsburgh, October 17, 1889.
The Pittsburgh Post, Pittsburgh, April 3, 1871.
The Carriers Address, *The Pittsburgh Daily American and Visitor*, January 1, 1842.
Carriers Address to the patrons of *The Pittsburgh Mercury and Democrat*, January 1, 1842.
Christmas Offering of the Watchmen of the City of Pittsburgh at the close of the year 1841.
Address of the Carrier of the *Morning Chronicle*, to his patrons at the commencement of 1842.
Carriers Address to the patrons of *The Presbyterian Advocate*, 1842.

"THE JACOB G. REEL COLLECTION"

Presented by Mrs. R. A. McKee

THE PITTSBURGH GAZETTE

May 19, December 29, 1818.
January 1, December 31, 1819.
January 7, May 29, 1820.

THE PITTSBURGH COMMONWEALTH

July 24, December 25, 1805.
January 1, December 31, 1806.
January 1, December 30, 1807.
January 6, December 31, 1808.
January 4, May 17, 1809.

THE PITTSBURGH MERCURY

September 26, December 28, 1811.
January 4, March 28, 1812.
July 16, December 31, 1812.
January 7, December 29, 1813.
January 5, August 3, 1814.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Pittsburgh Commonwealth, June 20, 1812.
The Pittsburgh Gazette, June 5, 1820.
Pittsburgh Manufacturing and Commercial Advertiser, July 24, 1820.
Pittsburgh Dispatch, December 24, 1855.
Supplement to the *Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch*, December 31, 1859.
The Pittsburgh Post, April 3, 1871.

THE PITTSBURGH PROTESTANT UNIONIST

September 25, December 25, 1844.
January 4, December 31, 1845.
January 7, December 30, 1846.
January 6, December 29, 1847.
January 5, December 31, 1848.

PITTSBURGH WEEKLY MERCURY AND MANUFACURER

January 27, December 26, 1844.
January 3, July 26, 1845.

ALLEGHENY DAILY ENTERPRISE

August 29, December 30, 1850.
January 1, August 28, 1851.

THE PITTSBURGH EVENING EXPRESS

Saturday, September 14, 1850.
Monday, September 16, 1850.
Tuesday, September 17, 1850.
Wednesday, September 18, 1850.
Thursday, September 19, 1850.
Friday, September 20, 1850.
Saturday, September 21, 1850.
Monday, September 23, 1850.
Tuesday, September 24, 1850.
Wednesday, Septemer 25, 1850.
Thursday, September 26, 1850.
Friday, September 27, 1850.
Saturday, September 28, 1850.

PITTSBURGH GAZETTE AND MANUFACTURING AND MERCANTILE ADVERTISER

Monday, June 5, 1820.
Monday, June 12, 1820.
Monday, June 19, 1820.
Monday, June 26, 1820.
Monday, July 3, 1820.
Monday, July 10, 1820
Monday, July 17, 1820.
Monday, July 24, 1820.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Invitation to Participate in the Celebration on November 25, 1858, of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Capture of Fort Duquesne by the British.

Pittsburgh, Nov. 1858.

Dear Sir:

The citizens of Western Pennsylvania are making arrangements to appropriately celebrate the 25th inst.—the centennial anniversary of the Capture of Ft. Duquesne, or in other words the overthrow of the French and the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon dominion in the Valley of the Ohio. This event to us is of peculiar interest but in many respects of the highest importance to the whole American People. The grandest project ever matured in the French Cabinet was the line of military fortifications, as a basis of colonial settlements designed to connect Louisiana and Canada, and permanently establish French ascendancy in the valleys of the Mississippi, Ohio and St. Lawrence; and consequently to confine the Anglo-Saxon dominion to the Eastern slope of the Alleghany Mountains. The great Napoleon's dream of Russian and Asiatic conquest did not equal this. The war with the French and Indians, to counteract this ambitious design, culminated (so far as we are concerned) in the capture of Fort Duquesne, on the 25th of November, 1758. In the five years of active field service of these campaigns Col. Washington acquired that confidence in himself, that enlarged military experience, and that recognition of his eminent merits by the then Colonies—which led the Continental Congress to vest in him the higher responsibilities of Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Army. It is therefore eminently proper that the Centennial Anniversary should be commemorated on the scene of former action.

We propose a grand procession of the citizens of Western Pennsylvania—in which prominence will be given to the Municipal, County, State and National officers who may honor the event by their presence. The Military and Naval forces, the Civic Societies, Literary and Benevolent Associations, the various trades and departments of Industry at home and abroad—which may desire to be represented—the whole to terminate in the Pennsylvania Railroad "Duquesne Depot," erected on the site of the old fort—where appropriate addresses will be delivered in the afternoon—and Edward Everett has been invited to deliver his address on "Washington" in the evening.

The various committees pledge themselves that nothing shall be wanting, on their part, to make all their arrangements worthy of that memorable occasion. The railroad companies whose roads centre here will issue excursion tickets.

We cordially invite you to be present and participate with us in the celebration of the 25th inst

Very Respectfully, yours,

RUSSELL ERRETT
J. HERON FOSTER
JAMES P. BARR
CHARLES McKNIGHT
J. G. BACKOFEN
WM. M. DARLINGTON
T. J BIGHAM
Com. of Invitation.

Passage of the Bill to Give the Custody of the Property Formerly Belonging to the Harmony Society at Economy to the Pennsylvania State Historical Commission.

At the instance of William H. Stevenson, President of the Pennsylvania State Historical Commission and of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, a bill was introduced into the last Legislature by Representative William J. McCaig of Pittsburgh, providing that the custody of the property formerly belonging to the Harmony Society at Economy in Beaver County, which some time ago escheated to the state, should be placed under the control of the Commission. The bill was passed in the final days of the session and was approved by Governor Sproul. It among other things dedicates the property as a historical site and permits the Commission to make arrangements with some local authority or organization to utilize and care for the property for public purposes upon giving a proper bond. It is understood that citizens of Ambridge and Economy intend to make a proposition along these lines to the Commission.

Members of the Harmony Society Historical Association took great interest in the matter and were strong supporters of the bill, they being especially organized for the purpose of preserving the historic buildings at that place. The buildings at Economy are very unique; because of the historic association connected with them it is very gratifying to know that they have been placed in the custody of the Historical Commission a fact which assures their preservation and proper use.

Information Desired.

Letters of administration were granted in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, January 12, 1785 on estate of Andrew Ross, attorney at law, to Robert Hanna, Esq., Joseph Erwin, Jr. and James Erwin. No proceedings in the settlement of the estate are of record. Facts relating to the history of this Andrew Ross and his parentage are desired by Edmund Hayes Bell, 815 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Farewell Letter of Andrew Carnegie to the Officers and Employees of the Pittsburgh Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

Pennsylvania Railroad Company,
Superintendent's Office, Pittsburgh Division.
Pittsburgh, March 28th, 1865.

To the Officers and Employees
Of the Pittsburgh Division

Gentlemen:

I cannot allow my connection with you to cease without some expression of the deep regret felt at parting.

Twelve years of pleasant intercourse have served to inspire feelings of personal regard for those who have so faithfully labored

with me in the service of the company. The coming change is painful only as I reflect that in consequence thereof I am not to be in the future, as in the past, intimately associated with you and with many others in the various departments, who have, through business intercourse, become my personal friends. I assure you, although the official relations hitherto existing between us must soon close, I can never fail to feel and evince the liveliest interest in the welfare of such as have been identified with the Pittsburgh Division in times past, and who are, I trust, for many years to come to contribute to the success of the Pennsylvania Central, and share in its justly deserved prosperity.

Thanking you most sincerely for the uniform kindness shown toward me, for your zealous efforts made at all times to meet my wishes, and asking for my successor similar support at your hands, I bid you all Farewell.

Very Respectfully,
ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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Very Respectfully,
ANDREW CARNEGIE.

INDEX

Abett, Rueben, 127.
Adams, Charles F., 56.
Adams, George, 168, 226, 230.
Adams, Jacob, 127.
Addison, Judge Alexander, 141, 226.
Agnew, Judge Daniel, 234.
Albany Purchase, 15.
Albig, W. Espy, *Early development of transportation on the Monongahela River*, 115-124.
Albo, Mary, 168.
Alet, William, 170.
Alleghany Portage R. R., 40, 43, 46, 49.
Alleghany Valley R. R., 48.
Allegheny county centennial, 2.
Alleminga, 190.
Allexander, James, 172.
Amberson, James, 170.
Amberson, William, 168.
Ammon, John, 62.
Ammon, Peter, 62.
"Ann Jane", 120.
Ansley, David, 168.
Antes, Rhinhart, 169.
Arawine, Agnes, 169.
Arawine, John, 165.
Arawine, William, 169.
Armstrong, Col., 195.
Army uniforms—1799, 54-56.
Ashby, Aubrey L., 159.
Athanase, 210.
Aughwick, 176.
Averat, Philip, 165.
Avery, Charles, 119.
Ayres, Rev. Robert, 70.

Backer, Charles, 170.
Backofen, J. G., 255.
Bacon, Robert, 127.
Baird, G. M. P., 159.
Baker, Adam, 62.
Baker, Crist, 62.
Baker, George, 62.
Bakewell, Benjamin, 3.
Bakewell, Thomas, 119.
Baltimore & Ohio R. R., 42, 122.
Bank of Pittsburgh, 228.
Barnett, John, 126.
Barney, Commodore Joshua, 214.
Barr, James P., 255.
Barr, Rev. Samuel, 219, 220. 224.
Barrett, C., 62.
Bates, Tarleton, 217, 225, 232.
Bates, Major Thomas, 129.
Baty, Jas., 166.
Bausman, Jacob, 136.
Bayard, Stephen, 116, 216, 220.
Beamer, Fred, 64.
Bean, John, 126.
Bearing, I. B., 64.
Beatty, Charles, 19, 32.
Beatty, John W., 160.
Beaujeau, Capt. Daniel de, 208, 210.
Beazel, Charles, 62.
Becham, James, 126.
Bedford, Dr. Nathaniel, 173, 228.
Beechar, Jacob, 125.
Beisel, Gob, 64.
Beltzhoover, George, 62.
Bender, Chs., 62.
Benett, Pengemen, 169.
Bennett, Abraham, 168.
Bennett, Benj., Sen., 166.
Bennett, Isaac, 168.
Bennett, Peter, 169.
Bibliographies, 211, 220, 229, 236.
Biddle, Clement, 53.
Biddle, Richard, 159.
Bigelow, Edward M., 4.
Biggs, Capt. Benj., 127.
Bigham, T. J., 255.
Birkhart, Jacob, 170.
Black, Rev., 142.
Boggs, Martha F., 159.
Bohing, Henry, 62.
Boldolph, Sam., 62.
Boneface, Wm., 172.
Bonnhorst, Chas. F. W., von, 107, 229.
Bonnhorst, Geo. M. von, 107.
Bonnhorst, Sidney F. von, 107.

INDEX

Abbott, Reuben, 127.
Adams, Charles F., 56.
Adams, George, 168, 222, 230.
Adams, Jacob, 137.
Addison, Judge Alexander, 141, 228.
Agnew, Judge Daniel, 234.
Allany Purchase, 15.
Alsip, W. Espy, Early development of 1 of transportation on the Monongahela River, 115-124.
Alton, Mary, 165.
Alex, William, 136.
Allegheny Portage R. R., 45, 47, 48, 49.
Allegheny Valley R. R., 55.
Allegheny county centennial, 2.
Allentown, 160.
Alexander, James, 176.
Anderson, James, 170.
Anderson, William, 165.
Ammon, John, 62.
Ammon, Peter, 62.
"Ann Jane", 120.
Anley, David, 158.
Anles, Hinkart, 160.
Arnwine, Agnes, 160.
Arnwine, John, 165.
Arnwine, William, 160.
Armstrong, Col., 168.
Army uniforms—1792, 54-56.
Ashby, Aubrey L., 185.
Albonas, 210.
Auchwick, 176.
Avent, Philip, 165.
Avery, Charles, 119.
Ayres, Rev. Robert, 76.

Backer, Charles, 170.
Backlem, I. C., 235.
Bacon, Robert, 127.
Baird, C. M. P., 185.
Baker, Adam, 62.
Baker, Cyler, 62.
Baker, George, 62.
Bakewell, Benjamin, 3.
Bakewell, Thomas, 116.
Baltimore & Ohio R. R., 42, 122.
Bank of Pittsburgh, 235.
Barnett, John, 169.
Barney, Commodore Joshua, 214.
Barr, James T., 235.
Barr, Rev. Samuel, 212, 229, 234.
Barrett, C., 66.
Bates, Terence, 217, 228, 232.
Bates, Major Thomas, 128.
Batty, Jas., 176.
Bannan, Jesse, 62.
Bayard, Stephen, 117, 216, 229.
Beaner, Fred, 64.
Beer, John, 176.
Bering, L. H., 64.
Beatty, Charles, 12, 22.
Beatty, John W., 160.
Beaulieu, Capt. Daniel de, 206, 210.
Bassel, Charles, 62.
Barbre, James, 185.
Bartlind, Dr. Christian, 174, 228.
Beecher, Jacob, 165.
Beisel, Peter, 64.
Ballsbower, Henry, 64.
Bardsley, Chas., 62.
Bowell, Francis, 160.
Bennett, Sherman, 166.
Bennett, Mary, Esq., 166.
Bonnell, Jacob, 165.
Bennett, Isaac, 165.
Bilbo, Capt., 217, 226, 228, 232.
Bridle, Clement, 62.
Bradley, Richard, 165.
Bradley, Edward M., 4.
Bryan, Capt. Noah, 182.
Bickam, T. J., 235.
Bickham, James, 176.
Bidel, Rev., 165.
Bayne, Martin F., 185.
Bowles, Henry, 62.
Bolsbith, Rev., 62.
Bumbaer, Wm., 172.
Boundard, Chas. F. W., 166, 167, 230.
Bandbest, Geo. H., 166.
Bandport, Sidney P., 166.

Bonnhorst, William E. von, 107.
Boobenheimer, A., 62.
Booke, John, 126.
Bouquet, Col., 80, 116, 186, 195, 215.
Boyer, Toussant, 208.
Brackenridge, Judge H. H., 141, 151, 152, 159, 168, 201, 223, 225, 229, 242, 245.
Brackenridge, Judge H. M., 3, 152, 159, 225.
Brackenridge, Mrs. Sabina, 229, 230.
Braddock, Gen., 88, 115, 178, 184, 208.
Brading, Nathaniel, 52.
Bradley, Mary, 165.
Bradley, Philip, 166.
Bradley, Philip, 172.
Brady, Cyrus T., 159.
Brainerd, David, 18.
Branch Bank, 220.
Brantz, Louis, 138.
Brashear, John A., 158.
Brasier, William, 126.
Brdey, Rosanna, 168.
Breed, David R., 159.
Breson, James, 165.
Brickell, George, 167.
Brittel, George, 172.
Broadhead, Daniel, 187, 218, 219.
"Broken Straw Creek", 219.
Brooks, Aron, 171.
Brooks, Charles, 171.
Brooks, James, 171.
Brooks, Lesh., 171.
Brotherington, Rob., 165.
Brothers, Bede, 172.
Brown, Georg, 170.
Brown, John, 166.
Brown, John, 172.
Brown, Thomas, 171.
Brown, Wm., 171.
Bruce, Rev., 142.
Bruce, David. *To whiskey*, 199.
Brunaherna, Wm., 127.
Brunot, Dr. Felix, 223.
Brunot, Felix R., 3, 4.
Brunot Rev. Sanson K., 225, 230.
Bryan, E. V. P., 188.
Bucher, Christen, 169.
Bucher, Jacob, 169.
Buckhanen, Robert, 172.
Buckner, Crist, 64.
Buhler, M. E., *In a colonial church yard*, 58.
Buite, Thos., 126.
Burchfield, Adey, 170.
Burd, Jas., 103.
Burges, Mrs. 172.
Burgoyne, Arthur G., 159.
Burleigh, William H., 159.
Burnsides, John, 126.
Butler, Ginney, 165.
Butler, James R., 223, 224.
Butler, Mrs. Maria Smith, 223.
Butler, Richard, 165.
Butler, Gen. Richard, 223, 224.
Butler, Col. William, 224.

Cable, Henry, 171.
Cable, Henry, 173.
Caldwell, Robert, 172.
Calonder, Merton, 171.
Cameron, John, 227.
Canals of Pennsylvania, 38-51.
Cannon, Thomas, 232.
Cardonas, John, 125.
Carhart, Daniel, 159.
Carmichael, John, 167.
Carnahon, John, 167.
Carnegie, Andrew, 159; tribute to, 237-238; his farewell letter to Pennsylvania R. R. officials, 256-257.
Caror, James, 167.
Carqueville, Lieut. de, 209.
Carr, James, 126.
Carson, Benj., 166.
Carson, Wm., 171.
Carswell, Joseph, 172.
Carvel, Thomas, 167.
Cassidy, Wm., 62.
Caster, Thos, 171.
Castle Shannon Inclined Plane, 61.
Castlman, Jacob, 170.
Cather, Willa S., 159.
Celebration of 125th anniversary of the incorporation of Pittsburgh as a borough, 133-148.
Census of Pittsburgh—1790, 161-173.
Chambers, Benj., 176.
Chambers, Jas., 169.
Chapman, Luke, 167.
Chapman, Thos. J., 159.
Charles, James, 53.
Cherry Valley, 81.
Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, 42.
Christy, Agnes, 165.
Church, Samuel H., 150, 159.
Clairy, A. T., 54.

Bonnabert, William E. von, 107.
Boobenheimer, A., 62.
Booke, John, 126.
Bouquet, Col., 80, 116, 186, 193, 215.
Boyer, Tonsana, 203.
Brackenridge, Judge H. M., 143, 151, 182, 183, 196, 201, 223, 225, 229, 243, 248.
Brackenridge, Judge H. M., 3, 182, 189, 228.
Brackenridge, Mrs. Sabina, 229, 230.
Braddock, Gen., 82, 115, 178, 184, 208.
Bradley, Nathaniel, 62
Bradley, Mary, 168.
Bradley, Philip, 168.
Bradley, Philip, 172.
Brady, Cyrus T. 182
Brainerd, David, 18.
Branch Bank, 220.
Brannt, Louis, 188.
Brashear, John A., 188.
Brasier, William, 128.
Bradey, Rosanna, 168.
Bread, David K., 190.
Breston, James, 168.
Brickell, George, 167.
Brittel, George, 172.
Broadhead, Daniel, 187, 216, 219
"Broken Straw Creek", 219.
Brooks, Aron, 171.
Brooks, Charles, 171.
Brooks, James, 171.
Brooks, Lewis, 171.
Brotherington, Rob, 162.
Brothers, Bede, 172.
Brown, George, 176.
Brown, John, 166.
Brown, John, 172.
Brown, Thomas, 171.
Brown, Wm., 171.
Bruce, Rev. 142
Bruce, David, Jr. McAdoo, 190.
Brumberg, Wm. 127.
Brunot, Dr. Felix, 232.
Brunot, Felix R., 2 4.
Brunot Rob. Sanson K., 224, 230.
Bryan, E. V. P. 183
Bucher, Christian, 183.
Bucher, Jacob, 166.
Buchhanan, Robert, 177.
Buckner, Crist, 49.
Buhler, M. E. Jr. 3 colonial church used, 58.
Bultz, Thos, 126.
Burchfield, Abey, 170.
Burd, Jas, 163.
Burgess, Mrs 172.
Burgoyne, Arthur G. 150
Burleigh, William H. 159.
Burnside, John, 126.
Burton, Clancy, 165.
Butler, James R. 229 231
Butler, Mrs. Maria Smith, 232.
Butler, Richard, 165.
Butler, Gen. Richard, 232, 234.
Butler, Col. William, 236

Calin, Henry, 171.
Cable, Henry 172.
Caldwell, Robert, 172
Cammer, Morgan, 171.
Cameron, John, 227.
Canals of Pennsylvania, 32-41.
Cannon, Thomas, 232.
Carlisle, John, 165.
Carnart, Daniel, 150.
Carnichael, John, 167.
Carnahan, John, 167.
Carnegie, Andrew 128; tribute to, 237-239; his farewell letter to Pennsylvania S. R. celebrate, 236-237.
Carr, James 167.
Carnegieville, Lieut. de, 172.
Carr, James, 126.
Carnes, Ezel, 165
Carson, Wm., 171.
Carswell, Joseph, 172.
Carrel, Thomas, 167.
Cassidy, Wm. 66.
Castor, Tom, 171.
Castle Shannon Inclined Plane, 61.
Cashman, Jacob, 170.
Cather, Willa S. 128.
Catherine, Wm. 172.
Cavalry of the Revolutionary Army of Pittsburgh as a body, 112-116.
Caesar, of Pittsburgh—176-181.
Chambers, Paul, 172.
Chambers, Jas. 167.
Chapman, Luke, 167.
Chapman, Thos. 172
Charles, James, 62.
Carter Valley, 67.
Chartiers & Ohio Canal 42.
Chaney, Aaron, 168.
Church, Samuel R. 126, 150.
Clary, A. T., 36.

Clapham, Col. Wm., 215.
Clark, James, 62.
Clark, John, 170.
Clark, Josha, 167.
Clark, Marey, 170.
Clarke, David, 125.
Claw, James, 172.
Clevedence, John, 167.
Cloyd, William, 126.
Clymer, George, 218.
Clymer, Meredith, 218.
Coal Hill, 223.
Coal Hill Fort, 59, 61.
Cockendoll, John, 168.
Coe, Benjamin, 167.
Coffin, W. C., 134.
Cogan, William, 173.
Cohoon, James, 168.
Cohoon, Robert, 165.
Colane, John, 172.
Colebrookdale, 78.
Coler, Adam, 172.
Collier, William, 62.
Collins, Thomas, 226.
Columbian Steam Engine Co., 228.
Conditions and Concessions, 28.
Coningham, Samuel, 172.
Connar, Timothy, 171.
Connelly, Dr. John, 186, 217.
Connelly, William, 126.
Conrad, Charles, 166.
Conrade, Jacob, 172.
Contrecœur, 209.
Cook, Joshua, 165.
Cooper, Frederick, 70.
Cooper, Marten, 168.
Cornplanter, 219.
Correy, James, 172.
Cortz, John, 62.
Council of Censors of Pennsylvania, 240, 242.
Count of Beaujolas, 216.
Cowan, Christopher, 228, 230.
Court summons, 54.
Cowan, John P., *Fortifying Pittsburgh in 1863*, 59-64.
Cox, William, 170.
Crabs, Jacob, 70.
Craford, Charles, 126.
Crafty Canal, 45.
Craig & Guthrie vs First Presbyterian Church, 212, 234.
Craig, Isaac, 207, 208, 216, 233.
Craig, Major Isaac, 53, 136, 141, 152, 163, 216, 220, 222.
Craig, Neville B., 3, 152, 159, 207.
Cramer, Zadok, 160, 230.
Crawford, William, 54.
Crawford, William, 70.
Creigh, Alfred, 70.
Cresap, Michael, 54.
Cribbs, George A., *Frontier policy of Pennsylvania*, 5-35, 72-106, 174-198.
Croghan, George, 9, 11, 23, 25, 115, 125, 176, 182, 194.
Crumrine, Boyd, 4.
Crusewell, Samuel, 125.
Crye, John, 165.
Cutwright, Peter, 167.

"D. Crockett", 121.
Dahlinger, Charles W., *St. Thomas P. E. Church of Washington Co.*, 69-71; *Anniversary address*, 134-141; 159; 160; *Pittsburgh's first burying ground*, 205-236.
Dallas, Secretary, 245.
Danielson, Hugh, 166.
Darlington, W. M., 3.
Darlington, William M., 207, 255.
Darragh, John, 228, 230.
Datty, Fred., 62.
Daugherty, John, 127.
Davidson, W. M., 159.
Davis, Allan, 160.
Dawson, Capt. Sam., 216.
Day, Ezekiel, 167.
De Beaujeau, Capt. Daniel, 208, 210.
De Carqueville, Lieut., 209.
De huff, John, 165.
De la Perde, Ensign, 209.
De Schweinitz, Prof., 134.
Deal, Peter, 62.
Deborney, Ann, 165.
Decker, Omar S., 4, 61.
Declaration of Rights of 1776, 245.
Deland, Margaret, 159.
Delaware & Hudson Canal Co., 50.
Demster, Alexander, 169.
Denison, Joseph, 126.
Denny, Major Ebenezer, 141, 222, 224.
Department of the Monongahela, 60.
Depreciation Tract, 161, 162, 164.
Derr, Nick, 62.
Derry, Jacob, 167.

Clapham, Col. Wm., 216.
Clark, James, 62.
Clark, John, 170.
Clark, John, 167.
Clark, Alary, 170.
Clarke, David, 120.
Claw, James, 172.
Cleveleare, John, 167.
Cloud, William, 128.
Clymer, George, 216.
Clymer, Meredith, 216.
Coal Hill, 229.
Coal Hill Fort, 69, 61.
Cockendell, John, 164.
Coe, Benjamin, 167.
Coffin, W. C., 134.
Cogan, William, 172.
Cohoon, James, 168.
Cohoon, Robert, 165.
Colane, John, 172.
Colebrookdale, 72.
Coler, Adam, 172.
Collier, William, 62.
Collins, Thomas, 228.
Columbian Steam Engine Co., 228.
Conditions and Covenants, 58.
Coningham, Samuel, 172.
Connac, Timothy, 172.
Connally, Dr. John, 184, 217.
Connelly, William, 126.
Conrad, Charles, 168.
Conrade, Jacob, 172.
Conyroom, 209.
Cook, John, 168.
Cooper, Frederick, 70.
Cooper, Martin, 168.
Corrplanter, 218
Correy, James, 172.
Corts, John, 62.
Council of Censors of Pennsylvania, 240, 242.
Count of Bequeskes, 218.
Cowan, Christopher, 228, 230.
Court summons, 64.
Cowan, John P., Forthcoming Pittsburgh in 1803, 59-61.
Cox, William, 170.
Crabs, Jacob, 70.
Cradford, Charles, 128.
Craftly Canal, 42.
Craig & Guthrie vs First Presbyterian Church, 212, 221.
Craig, John, 207, 208, 212, 232.
Craig, John Isaac, 50, 130, 141, 162, 168, 216, 230, 232.
Craig, Neville B., 3, 128, 138, 207.
Cramer, Zadok, 162, 212.
Crawford, William, 34.
Crawford, William, 76.
Creigh, Alfred, 10.
Crosby, Stephen, 62.
Cribbs, George A., Forthcoming Pittsburgh in 1803, 5-20, 19-106, 184-186.
Crookham, Joseph, 9, 11, 25, 28, 110, 128, 170, 182, 183.
Cummins, John, 4.
Cunningham, Samuel, 122.
Cure, John, 182.
Cutwright, Peter, 167.

"D. Crockett," 121.
Dahlinger, Charles W., 62.
Dallas, Alexander J., Secretary of Pennsylvania, 80-82.
Dallas, Secretary, 82.
Dandelion, Hugh, 164.
Darlington, W., 3.
Davenport, William M., 207, 208.
Davenport, John, 82, 208.
Dietz, Fred, 62.
Dawson, John, 127.
Dawson, W. M. 149.
Davis, Allen, 168.
Dawson, Capt. Sam., 216
Day, Forest, 127.
De Bergeac, Count, Diplomat, 206.
De Coupeville, Count, 206.
De Bus, John, 165.
De la Croix, Count, 206.
De Salvatis, Count, 184
Deal, Peter, 62.
Delcroy, John, 165.
Dewey, Comr., 1, 61.
Declaration of Rights of 1776, 242.
Delaware & Hudson Canal Co., 60.
Denniston, Alexander, 165.
Denison, Joseph, 4.
Denny, Major Ebenezer, 111, 232 234.
Department of the Monongahela, 66.
Department Tract, 161, 164, 166.
Dern, Neal, 62.
Derry, James, 161.

Derry, Mark, 173.
Devore, Isaac, 125.
Dewald, David, 62.
Dewald, John, 62.
Dewald, Peter, Jr., 62.
Dick, Wm., 172.
Diedrick, Henry, 62.
Dill, Wm., 164.
Dinwiddie, Gov., 183, 184.
Dixcon, Jacob, 172.
Dixon, Jacob, 166.
Donations to Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, 66, 129, 203, 252.
Donehoo, George P., 134.
Dowler, Thomas, 70.
Driver, Samuel, 169.
Duck, Charles, 170.
Duff, James, 170.
Duke of Montpelier, 216.
Duke of Orleans, 216.
Dumbare, John, 170.
Duncan, Robert K., 159.
Duning, Will, 165.
Dunken, David, 168.
Dunlap, John, 166.
Dunmore, Gov., 186, 218.
Dunmore's War, 23, 94, 103.
Dunn, Thos. A., 146.

Early development of transportation on the Monongahela River, by W. E. Albig, 115-124.

Earnest, Matthew, 168.
Eaton, Daniel L., 3.
Economy, 107, 256.
Ecuyer, Capt. 185, 186.
Edwards, Johnathan, 19.
Edwards, William, 62.
Eggers, Edward E., 4.
Eichbaum, William P., 227, 230.
Eles, Gesper, 171.
Elizabeth township, 162, 164.
Ellicott, Andrew, 191.
Ellis, James, 70.
Ells, Charles, 62.
Episcopal Church in Washington Co., 69-71.
Erie & Pittsburgh R. R., 49.
Erie Canal, 38.
Errett, Russell, 255.
Ervin, David, 172.
Erwin, James, 256.
Erwin, Jos., Jr., 256.
Esgue, Bengemen, 173.
Evans, George, 228, 230.
Evans, Oliver, 228.
Ewalt, Sam., 171.
Ewing, Robert M., *Life and times of William Findley*, 240-251.
"Exact", 121.
"Excel", 121.

Falckner, Daniel, 17, 33.
Federal party, 141.
Feet, Sam., 62.
Fenegan, Margaret, 172.
Ferry, John, 172.
Fetterman, C. S., 4.
Fetterman, W. W., 3.
Findlay, John, 162.
Findley, William, 240; early life,241; religion, 242; political career, 242-244; character, 245; writings, 247; personality, 248; record in Congress, 249; patriotism, 251.
First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, 218.
Fish, Williston, 159.
Fisher, George, 62.
Fisher, Jacob, 62.
Fisher, James, 166.
Fisher, John, 165.
Fisher, John, 169.
Fisher, Val., 62.
Fisher, Wm., 166.
Five Nations, 13, 83.
Flemen, James, 172.
Fleming, George T., 159.
Fleming, James P., 4.
Fletcher, Benj., 83.
Follows, George H., 159.
Forbes, Gen. John, 104, 140, 195, 212.
Ford, Moses, 170.
Forgit, Chas., 165.
Forner, Prof., 134.
Fort Allen, 179, 190.
Fort Armstrong, 187.
Fort Augusta, 180, 181, 192, 195, 215.
Fort Bedford, 105, 187.
Fort Duquesne, 104, 176, 177, 181, 184, 185, 187, 206, 207, 208, 209, 255.
Fort Fayette, 129, 138, 187.
Fort Franklin, 190.
Fort Granville, 80, 180.
Fort Halifax, 215.
Fort Henry, 179, 190.
Fort Le Bœuf, 177, 187, 188.
Fort Lebanon, 103, 179, 190.
Fort Ligonier, 80, 181, 187.
Fort Lyttletown, 180.

Derry, Mark, 172.
Devore, James, 123.
Dewald, David, 62.
Dewald, John, 62.
Dewald, Peter, Jr., 62.
Dick, Wm., 172.
Diedrick, Henry, 62.
Dill, Wm., 164.
Dinwiddie, Gov., 183, 184.
Dixon, Jacob, 172.
Dixon, Jacob, 180.
Donations to Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, 66, 129, 203, 205.
Donohoo, George P., 124.
Dorlor, Thomas, 76.
Driver, Samuel, 164.
Duck, Charles, 170.
Duff, James, 170.
Duke of Montchelin, 216.
Duke of Orleans, 216.
Dunbare, John, 170.
Duncan, Robert K., 152.
Dunning, Will, 165.
Dunlop, David, 165.
Dunlap, John, 150.
Dunmore, Gov., 180, 216.
Dunmore's War, 23, 51, 103.
Dunn, Thos. A., 146.

Early development of Jennerstown as the Meyersdale River, by W. E. Ahlee, 115-124.
Earnest, Matthew, 182.
Eaton, Daniel L., 3.
Economy 167, 168.
Ecuyer, Capt. 158, 159.
Edwards, Johnathan, 19.
Edwards, William, 62.
Eggers, Edward E., 4.
Eichbaum, William P., 227, 230.
Eles, George, 171.
Elizabeth township, 182, 184.
Elliott, Andrew, 181.
Ellis, James, 76.
Ellis, Charles, 62.
Episcopal Church in Washington Co., 69-71.
Erie & Pittsburgh R. R., 42.
Erie Canal, 82.
Erwin, Russell, 232.
Erwin, David, 172.
Erwin, James, 232.
Erwin, Jos., Jr., 164.
Eagle, Emmerson, 173.
Evans, George, 152, 230.
Evans, Oliver, 172.
Ewald, Sam., 171.
Ewing, Robert M., 54, and
Essay of William Findley, 216-
231.
"Excel", 121.
"Excel", 121.

Falkner, Daniel, 17, 23.
Federal party, 141.
Feet, Sam., 62.
Finney, Nineyard, 172.
Ferry, John, 172.
Fetterman, C. S., 4.
Fetterman, W. W., 3.
Findley, John, 162.
Finney, William, 240, early
life, 241; voting on, 242; public
and express, 243; service
ter, 244; writing, 245; per-
sonality, 246; moral as con-
gress, 247; peculiarities, 248.
Fish, Jacob, Pittsburgh City
Cavalry, 216.
Fish, William, 120.
Fisher, George, 62.
Fisher, James, 62.
Fisher, James, 166.
Fisher, John, 166.
Fisher, John, 172.
Fisher, Val., 62.
Fisher, Wm., 166.
Fire Station, 18, 63.
Fleman, James, 172.
Fleming, Henry T., 169.
Fleming, James F., 4.
Fletcher, Hugh, 62.
Follows, George H., 169.
Forbes, Gen., 158, 161, 162,
163, 223.
Ford, Moses, 170.
Forgie, Thos., 166.
Fort Bedford, 160, 167.
Fort Duquesne, 161, 170, 177,
181, 184, 190, 197, 206, 207,
208, 209, 223.
Fort Frederick, 159, 160, 167.
Fort Franklin, 159.
Fort Franklin, 60, 180.
Fort Hardy, 213.
Fort Ligonier, 170, 190.
Fort Loudon, 177, 187, 193.
Fort Pitt, 160, 161, 162.
Fort Shoupen, 59, 171, 187.
Fort Littleton, 160.

Fort McIntosh, 187, 222.
Fort Mechanic, 61.
Fort Necessity, 115, 184.
Fort Pitt, 80, 125, 138, 181, 182, 185, 186, 192, 195, 212.
Fort Pomfret Castle, 180.
Fort Presque Isle, 177, 187.
Fort Shirley, 80, 176, 180.
Fort Venango, 177, 187.
Fortifying Pittsburgh in 1863, by John P. Cowan, 59-64.
Forts of Pennsylvania, 174-193.
Foser, Black Tom, 170.
Foster, J. Heron, 255.
Foster, Stephen C., 155, 159.
Fowler, Alexander, 164.
Fowler, George, 163.
Fowler, James, 215.
Fowler, Joseph, 125.
Fox, George, 18.
Fox, Thomas, 215.
"Franklin," 121.
Franklin, Benjamin, 27, 73, 89, 191.
Franses, Phillip, 168.
Fraser, Alexander, 125.
Free, Jake., 62.
Freeman, John, 119.
French and Indian war, 9, 10, 15, 18, 20, 23, 29, 75, 79, 87, 94, 99, 174.
French in Western Pennsylvania, 13, 23, 80, 83, 96, 115, 177, 184, 207, 208.
Freser, Rosa, 173.
Friendly association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians, 75.
Frontier policy of Pennsylvania, by G. A. Cribbs, 5-35, 72-106, 174-198.
Frost, Dr. A. E., 148.
Funk, Adam, 165.

Gallatin, Albert, 245, 246.
Ganadenhutten, 80, 97.
Gardner, Hugh, 165.
Gay, E. F., 118.
"General Monk," 214.
Gerwig, George W., 160.
Gibans, David, 173.
Gibson, Col., 220.
Gibson, Gen. John, 224.
Gibson, Jos. T., 159.
Gibson, Thos., 170.
Gill, Hugh, 169.
Gill, Wm., 172.
Gilleland, David, 169.
Gilleland, James, 160.
Gillihan, Clement, 126.
Gipson, John, 169.
Girty, Simon, 218.
Gist, Christopher, 9, 115.
Gladwin, Major, 181.
Goff, Milton B., 147.
Goffey, James, 169.
Gookin, Gov. Chas., 78, 86.
Gordon, Gov., 7.
Gordon, Kate, 159.
Gornley, Will., 165.
Grace, John, 172.
Graham, Alester, 166.
Graham, Angus, 166.
Graham, Daniel, 170.
Graham, John, 119.
Graham, Malcolm, 166.
Graham, Petter, 169.
Graham, William, 172.
Grant, James, 173.
Gray, Daniel, 169.
Great Cove, 79, 103, 179.
Great Meadows, 184.
Green, Geo., 62.
Green, Wm., 62.
Greeno, Thomas, 167.
Greer, Thomas, 169.
Gregg, Henry, 70.
Gregg, John, 70.
Grim, Philip, 62.
Groobs, Conrad, 171.
Groobs, Jacob, Jr., 171.
Groobs, Jacob, Sr., 171.
Groobs, John, 171.
Guffey, Col. Jas. M., 4.
Gun, Will, 166.
Gunagul, George, 165.
Gundelfinger, Geo. F., 160.
Guthrie, Geo. W., 52.
Guthrie, John B., 207.
Guthry, John, 125.

Haas, August, 62.
Haas, Henry, 62.
Haas, Wm., 62.
Hafpenny, Isaac, 127.
Halpin, W. R., 160.
Hambleton, Thos., 166.
Hambleton, Wm., 166.
Hambright, Capt., 103, 104.
Hamel, Charles, 172.
Hamelton, Archbold, 170.
Hamilton, Col., 53.
Hamilton, Gov., 87, 183, 184.
Hamilton, Alexander, 135, 245, 247.
Hamilton, Samuel, 160.

Fort McIntosh, 187, 222.
Fort Mechanic, 61.
Fort Necessity, 115, 184.
Fort Pitt, 30, 125, 158, 161, 182, 185, 186, 192, 195, 212.
Fort Pontiac Castle, 180.
Fort Presque Isle, 177, 187.
Fort Shirley, 80, 176, 180.
Fort Venango, 177, 187.
Fort(Why) Pittsburgh ca 1863, by John F. Coman, 59-64
Forts of Pennsylvania, 174-182.
Foster, Black Tom, 170.
Foster, J. Heron, 222.
Foster, Stephen C., 165, 180.
Fowler, Alexander, 164.
Fowler, George, 165.
Fowler, James, 212.
Fowler, Joseph, 122.
Fox, George, 18.
Fox, Thomas, 212.
"Franklin," 121.
Franklin, Benjamin, 27, 73, 99, 107.
Frances, Phillip, 165.
Fraser, Alexander, 122.
Free, Jake, 62.
Freeman, John, 118.
French and Indian war, 9, 10, 15, 18, 20, 23, 75, 76, 87, 94, 99, 171.
French in Western Pennsylvania, 13, 23, 26, 85, 90, 116, 177, 184, 207, 208.
Fresser, Rosa, 173.
Friendly association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians, 75.
Frontier policy of Pennsylvania, by G. A. Crobb, 5-23, 72-106, 171-188.
Frost, Dr. A. E., 145
Funk, Adam, 166.

Gallatin, Albert, 215, 216.
Gandadahatten, 30, 97.
Gardner, Hugh, 165.
Gay, E. F., 115.
"General Mack," 214.
Gerwig, George W., 100.
Gibbens, David, 173.
Gibson, Col, 220.
Gibson, Gen. John, 224.
Gibson, Jos. T., 159.
Gibson, Thos., 170.
Gill, Hugh, 170.
Gill, Wm., 172.
Gillelland, David, 169.
Gillelland, James, 160.
Gillham, Charles, 178.
Gibson, John, 160.
Gray, Simon, 213.
Gist, Christopher, 9, 113.
Glenn, Major, 181.
Goff, Milton B., 147.
Gogey, James, 169.
Goodin, Gov. Chas., 76, 84.
Gordon, Gov. T.
Gordon, Hugh, 180.
Gordey, Will, 162.
Grace, John, 172.
Graham, Alister, 164.
Graham, Angus, 165.
Graham, David, 170.
Graham, John, 170.
Graham, Malcolm, 165.
Graham, Peter, 165.
Graham, William, 172.
Grant, James, 173.
Gray, David, 165.
Great Cove, 76, 103, 173.
Great Meadows, 184.
Green, Geo., 62.
Green, Wm., 62.
Greene, Thomas, 167.
Greer, Thomas, 160.
Greer, Henry, 70.
Greer, John, 70.
Grim, Philip, 62.
Grosh, Conrad, 171.
Grosh, Jacob, Jr., 171.
Grosh, Jacob, Sr., 171.
Grosh, John, 171.
Guiney, Col. Jas., 84.
Gun, Will, 165.
Guscoil, George, 165.
Gundelfinger, Jos. F., 148.
Guthrie, Jas. W., 62.
Guthrie, John B., 220.
Guthry, John, 159.

Haas, August, 62.
Haas, Henry, 62.
Haas, Wm., 62.
Haffenden, Isaac, 167.
Hafner, W. H., 160.
Hamilton, Thos., 165.
Hamilton, Wm., 165.
Hamilton, Capt., 165, 176.
Hamel, Charles, 17.
Hamilton, Arnold, 174.
Hamilton, Col., 79.
Hamilton, Gov., 87, 165, 171.
Hamilton, Alexander, 168, 216, 217.
Hamilton, Samuel, 160.

Hammel, Charles, 167.
Hamor, W. A., 159.
Handlin, John, 165.
"The Hangard," 115.
Hanna, Robert, 256.
Hannastown, 81.
Hapaney, Isaac, 164.
Harden, James, 168.
Harger, John, 168.
Harmar, Gen. Josiah, 81, 136.
Harmonists, 107, 256.
Harper, John A., 3.
Harris, Ada V. S., 160.
Harris, John, 175.
Harris, John Jr., 176.
Harrison, Gen. Wm. H., 122,223.
Harris's Ferry, 11, 82.
Hassler, Edgar W., 4.
Hauthorn, Adam, 54.
Hay, Daniel, 65.
Hay, Hon. Malcolm, *Letters*, 52-57; 65.
Hay, Southard, 65.
Hawkins, Thos. J., 4.
Hazard, Samuel, 177.
Heath, Capt., 171.
Heckwelder, John, 18, 27, 33, 213.
Hein, Jacob, 62.
Hein, Wm., 64.
Heman, Geo., 62.
Henan, Stewart, 171.
Henderson, Robert, 171.
Henry, James, 56.
Herman, Geo., 64.
Hershbinn, D., 62.
Heyer, Fred., 62.
Heyer, Nick, 62.
Hickman, Peter, 62.
Hilens, Barnabas, 171.
Hill, Ashbel F., 160.
Hill, David, 167.
Hill, Thos., 165.
Hillsborough, Lord, 186.
Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, by Burd S. Patterson, 1-4.
Hohman, John, 62.
Holland, W. J., 158.
Hoorish, John, 127.
Horesh, James, 171.
Horesh, James, 173.
Householder, John, 168.
Housh, John, 70.
Howard, Dr. Wm., 118.
Howard, Rev. Wm. D., 3.
Howe, Daniel, 167.
Howe, Thos. M., 61, 119.
Hoyle, John T., 160.
Hubbell, Rose S., 160.
Hudson, Jas. F., 159.
Hufnagle, Geo., 62.
Huge, David, 173.
Hughes, Capt., 129.
Hulings, Marcus, 162, 167.
Hulings, Sam'l, 167.
Hull, John, 125.
Hunter, A. S., 159.
Hutchins, Capt. Thos., 213.
"Hyder Ali", 214.

Ihrig, Roscoe M., 160.
In a colonial church yard, by M. E. Buhler, 58.
Indian love song, by Willard Wattles, 239.
Indians; burying ground in early Pittsburgh, 207, 209; early legal standing, 6; education, 20; expenses, 7, 8; frontier forts, 174; land purchases, 8; land usurpation, 15; liquor trade, 25, 32; method of warfare, 82; missions, 16, 18, 19; money, 24; opinion of frontiersman, 97; provincial gov. policy, 12, 82; Quakers' policy, 5, 10, 77; ravages on the Ohio, 117; religion, 16; rewards for scalps, 98; trade laws, 28, 32; traders, 22; treaties, 7, 8; treatment, by English, 9, 10, 12, 14, 22, 97, by the French, 14.
Ingles, John, 125.
Irish, Nath., 168.
Irish, Capt. Nathaniel, 232.
Ironcutter, John, 13.
Irons, Harold M., 133, 143.
Irvine, Col., 220.

Jackson, Gen., 227.
Jackson, Thomas, 127.
Jacobs, George, 62.
Jameson, Capt., 103.
Jenkins, Friend W., 134.
Jennings, O. E., 158.
Jillson, B. C., 158.
Joans, Charles, 173.
Joans, Lidey, 173.
Johnson, James, 126.
Johnson, John, 166.
Johnson, Roswell H., 158, 159.
Johnson, Sir William, 187.
Johnson, William G., 159.

Hammel, Charles, 167.
Hamor, W. A., 169.
Hamlin, John, 168.
"The Hangzard," 115.
Hanna, Robert, 256.
Hannaseiwa, 81.
Happney, Isaac, 164.
Harden, James, 165.
Harper, John, 165.
Harmar, Gen. Josiah, 81, 186.
Harmonists, 107, 256.
Harper, John A., 3.
Harris, Ada V. S., 160.
Harris, John, 176.
Harris, John Jr., 176.
Harrison, Gen. Wm. H., 122,223.
Harris's Ferry, 11, 82.
Hassler, Edgar W., 4.
Hauthorn, Adam, 54.
Hay, Daniel, 65.
Hay, Hon. Malcolm, Letters, 52-57; 64.
Hay, Soutnard, 65.
Hawkins, Thos. L., 4.
Hazard, Samuel, 171.
Heath, Capt., 171.
Heckewelder, John, 13, 27, 33, 218.
Hein, Jacob, 62.
Hein, Wm., 64.
Heiman, Geo., 62.
Heman, Ebenezer, 171.
Henderson, Robert, 171.
Henry, James, 55.
Herrman, Geo., 64.
Herrnblum, D., 62.
Herver, Fred., 62.
Herrer, Nick, 62.
Hickman, Peter, 62.
Hilem, Barnabas, 171.
Hill, Ashbel F., 160.
Hill, David, 167.
Hill, Thos., 165.
Hillsborough, Lord, 186.
Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, by David S. Patterson, 1-4.
Hobman, John, 62.
Holland, W. J., 185.
Hoorish, John, 157.
Horsch, James, 171.
Horsch, James, 171.
Honeschlder, John, 160.
Hunsh, John, 70.
Howard, Dr. Wm., 119.
Howard, Rev. Wm. D., 4.
Howe, Daniel, 167.
Howe, Thos. M., 61, 119.
Hoyer, John T., 160.
Hubbell, Isaac S., 160.
Hudson, Jas. F., 123.
Hutchings, Geo., 85.
Huna, Israel, 171.
Hugins, Capt., 123.
Hudnuy, Marcus, 160, 177.
Hulings, Saml., 167.
Hull, John, 159.
Hunsen, A. S., 165.
Hutchins, Capt. Thos., 219; "Hyler Air", 211.

Ibers, Rosco M., 160.
In a colonial sleigh, and by M. E. Hughes, 88.
Indian lore, by Willard Vanlin, 220.
Industrial training - present in early Philadelphia, 207, 239; early legal meetings, 6, 44; Quaker, 59; meetings, 7, 8; Frankford Parts, 171; Germantown, 41; land dealers, 187; lumber trade, 90, 92; method of measure, 252 note; 18, 18; 139; corporation of Vagabondism, 97; provincial gov. policy, 14, 20; Quakers' rights, 8, 10, 171; taverns in the Dutch, 147; Germans, 16; reports of early trade, 98, 275; trades, 98; manufactures, 98; mining, 7, 8; treatment, by Europe, 9, 10, 12, 14, 23, 24, by the Germans, 14.
Ingles, John, 159.
Irish, Nath., 165.
Irwin, Capt. Matthew, 122.
Irwin, John, 14.
Irwin, Patrick M., 123, 124.
Irvine, Col., 220.

Jackson, Geo., 167.
Jackson, Thomas, 170.
Jacobs, Henry, 62.
Jameson, Capt., 103.
Jenkins, Israel W., 124.
Jenkins, O. G., 124.
Jones, R. C., 159.
Jones, Charles, 170.
Jones, Lewis, 173.
Johnson, John, 159.
Johnson, Jesse, 159.
Johnson, John, 160.
Johnson, Samuel H., 165, 159.
Johnson, Rev. Wm., 4.
Johnson, Wilson G., 185.

Johnston, Alexander, Jr., 228, 230.
Johnston, Daniel T., 4.
Johnston, James, 228, 230.
Johnston, John, 228, 230.
Johnston, William G., 129, 233.
Jones, Bill, 62.
Jones, Bred, 62.
Jones, Rees, 129.
Jones, Samuel, 168.
Jones, Thos., 126.
Jones, William, 125.
Juniata Canal, 46.
Junkin, Rev. David H., 3.

Karck, C., 63.
Kay, Chas. H., 3.
Kecher, Phil., 63.
Keenan, Thos. J., 4.
Keith, Gov., 7, 23, 78.
Keller, Martin, 166.
Kelley, Berney, 170.
Kelly, A. J. Jr., 4.
Kelso, Jas. A., 159.
Kenedy, John, 169.
"Kentucky Boat", 116, 117.
Kerr, Hugh T., 159.
Kerr, Robert, 70.
Killbreath, Robert, 167.
Killikelly, Sarah H., 159.
Killpatrick, Abraham, 168.
Kirkpatrick, Major Abraham, 222, 223.
Kiser, Ben., 170.
Klotz, Oscar, 159.
Knox, Gen., 129.
Koch, Val., 63.
Kohlman, Wm., 63.
Konapat, John, 20.

Lacock, Abner, 52.
LaFayette, 217, 223.
Lake Erie & Ohio River Canal, 2.
Lambing, Rev. A. A., 4; sketch, 36-37; 159; 206.
Lambing, Anne Shields, 36.
Lambing, Christian, 36.
Lambing, Jennie L., 4.
Lambing, Michael A., 36.
Landis, H. M., 4.
Lane, James, 125.
Langley John W., 148.
Langley, Samuel P., 147, 148, 159.
Larcenous Lake, 45.
Lastley, Geare, 167.
Lauterbach, crist, 64.
Lavely, Henry A., 159.
Layman, August, 64.
Lea, Rev. Richard, 233.
Leanard, Jno., 167.
Leavitt, Frank M., 159.
Lee, Arthur, 192.
Lehigh Coal & Navigation Co., 50.
Lemon, Isaac, 171.
Lemon, Samuel, 125.
Lenord, Pat., 172.
Lesle, Wm., 173.
Lestabarer, Geo., 165.
Leveg, Henry, 170.
Libby, Walter, 159.
"Liberty", 121.
Linenton, Timothy, 170.
Linhart, Christefor, 169.
Lipla, Fred., 63.
Lipla, Henry Jr., 63.
Lipla, Henry Sr., 63.
Liverpool & Manchester R. R., 40.
Logan, Gen. A. J., 4.
Logan, Alex., 167.
Logan, Jas., 23, 74, 79.
Logstown, 23, 35.
Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas, 2.
Lothrop, Sylvanus, 123.
Loughy, Dennis, 159.
Louis Philippe, 216.
Lovjoy, Ben., 169.
Lowe, Orten, 159.
Lowry, Col. Stephen, 226.
Loyalhanna, 195.
Lucas, John B. C., 226.
Ludden, Prof., 134.
Lutz, Fred., 63.
Lyford, W. G., 232, 234.
Lyon, Wm. T., 4.

McAfarson, James, 169.
McAnall, John, 171.
McAnnear, Hodew, 172.
McBride, Marey, 170.
McCaig, William J., 256.
McCandless, Wilson, 3.
McCartney, Peter, 125.
McCashland, And., 171.
McCertney, Peter, 170.
McClain, Loughlen, 168.
McClaland, William, 170.
McCleland, James, 167.
McClode, Dan., 166.
McClode, Murthuth, 166.
McCloud, John, 169.
McCloure, Abden, 169.
McCook, Henry C., 159, 160.
McCord, Sam., 168.

Johnston, Alexander, Jr., 228, 230.
Johnston, Daniel T., 4.
Johnston, James, 118, 230.
Johnston, John, 228, 230.
Johnston, William G., 128, 228.
Jones, Bill, 62.
Jones, Byrd, 22.
Jones, Reed, 120.
Jones, Samuel, 128.
Jones, Thos., 120.
Jones, William, 123.
Junista Canal, 46.
Junkin, Rev. David H., 3.

Karck, C., 62.
Kay, Chas. H., 3.
Keener, Phil., 62.
Keenan, Thos., 4.
Keith, Gov., 7, 22, 78.
Kellar, Martin, 166.
Kelley, Harvey, 170.
Kelly, A. J. Jr., 4.
Kelso, Jas. A., 182.
Kendy, John, 189.
"Kentucky Boat", 116, 117.
Kerr, Hugh T., 100, 1
Kerr, Robert, 70
Kilbreath, Robert, 187.
Kilbirnly, Sarah H., 186.
Kilpatrick, Abraham, 18
Kirkpatrick, Major Abraham, 228, 229.
Kiser, Ben., 170.
Klotz, Oscar, 128.
Knox, Geo., 123.
Koch, Val., 62.
Kohlman, Wm., 62.
Konagel, John, 20.

Lacock, Abner, 52.
LaFayette, 217, 234
Lake Erie & Ohio River Canal, 2.
Lambing, Rev. A. A., 4; sketch, 26-27; 126; 236.
Lambing, Anne Ridgely, 26.
Lambing, Christian, 34.
Lambing, Jeanne L., 4.
Lambing, Michael A., 26.
Landis, H. M., 2.
Lane, James, 122.
Langley John W., 148.
Langley, Samuel P., 147, 148, 150.
Lawrence Lake, 42.
Lawley, George, 167.
Lauterbach, Carl, 62.
Lavely, Henry A., 120.
Lawman, August, 61.
Law, Rev. Richard 212.
Lawrence, Jas., 167.
Lawrie, Robert N., 120.
Lee, Arthur, 102.
Lehigh Coal & Navigation Co. 46.
Lesson, James, 171.
Lesser, Samuel, 123.
Leonard, Pat., 172.
Leslie, Wm., 128.
Leatherer, Geo., 102.
Levee, Henry, 170.
Libby, Walter, 189.
"Liberty", 121.
Lineman, Timothy, 176.
Linney, Christopher, 166.
Lipple, Fred., 62.
Lipple, Henry Jr., 62.
Lipple, Henry Sr., 62.
Liverpool & Manchester R. R. 46
Logan, Gen. A. J. 4.
Logan, Abner, 107.
Logan, Jas., 22, 78.
Longmore, 22, 23.
Longworth, Sim. Nicholas, 2
Lathrop, Stephen, 123.
Loseby, Dennis, 140.
Lowe, Jno., 116.
Lovejoy, Dan., 167.
Lowry, Orlan, 120
Lowry, Geo. Stephen, 128.
Loyalsock, 100.
Lucas, John R. C., 128.
Lundin, Fred. 146.
Lutz, Fred., 4.
Lydons, W. C. 122, 123.
Lynn, Wm. T. 4.

McAllerson, Thomas, 120.
McCaull, John, 171.
McCormick, Hudson, 170.
McCrea, Henry, 120.
McCoy, William, 6, 120.
McCullough, Wm. 120.
McCormick, Peter, 120.
McCormick, Jas., 170.
McCormick, Peter, 170.
McCullin, Lancelot, 102.
McCracken, William, 176.
McCracken, James, 170.
McCracken, Jno., 166.
McCrady, Dan., 166.
McCrady, Michael, 166.
McConey, Alex., 120.
McCoy, Jas., 120.
McCoy, Henry V. 120, 166.
McCord, Sam., 166.

McCord, Samuel, 127.
McCordey, Adam, 171.
McCormick, Dr. S. B., 4, 142.
McCracken, Henry M., 147.
McCreat, Patrick, 172.
McCree, Wm., 169.
McCrestel, Michael, 173.
McCrum, J. M., 159.
McCulley, Geare, 167.
McCurdy, Stewart, C., 159.
McDaniel, Daniel, 166.
McDaniel, John, 166.
McDaniel, Murthuth, 166.
McDeorman, Thos., 169.
McDonald, Alex., 170
McDonald, John, 170.
McDonald, Lawrence S., 159.
McDormon, Henry, 169.
McDowell, John, 169.
McElroy, Rev., 142.
McElwain, Hugh, 167.
McFadden, Thomas, 121.
MacFarlane, James, *The Pennsylvania canals*, 38-51.
MacFarlane, Capt. Jas., 223.
Mcglohlin, Edward, 167.
McGomery, Nathaniel, 169.
McGregor, John, 169, 170.
McGunnegle, George, 232, 234.
McHenry, Daniel, 173.
McIlwain, Thomas, 125.
McIntosh, Gen., 195, 219.
McIntosh, Burr, 134.
McJunear, Doming, 170.
McKain, Sam., 63.
McKean, Gov. Thomas, 52, 217, 222.
McKelhenen, John, 170.
McKiney, Roddey, 173.
McKinney, John, 178.
McKinney, John, 206.
McKinsey, Alexander, 169.
McKnight, Charles, 159.
McKnight, Charles, 255.
McLachland, Mary, 171.
Mcleland, Jas., 172.
McManus, Tom., 63.
McMaster, John, 165.
McMon, Alexander, 169.
McNaugher, John, 159.
McNickey, Alexander, 168.
McPherson, Logan G., 159.
Mackey, Col. Aeneas, 217, 218, 220.
Magee, Samuel, 228, 230.
Magee, Thomas, 228, 230.
Maguire, Father, 142.
Marie, Jane, 225.
Martin, Sam., 63.
Mason, John, 165.
Masters, W., 65.
Mather, Capt. Richard, 215.
May, Capt. John, 116.
Mecklin, J. M., 159.
Meier, Charley, 63.
Mentz, Peter, 63.
Merchants Exchange, 3.
Merrill, B. E., 160.
Merton, Thomas, 170.
Merton, Thomas, 172.
Mesmer, Jake, 63.
Metaxen, John, 20.
Metcalf, Tom., 63.
Mifflin, Gov., 188, 191, 219, 226, 245, 246.
Milholland, F. Caleb, 63.
Milholland, Harvey, 63.
Militia of Pennsylvania, 98-106.
Miller, Chs., 63.
Miller, Jacob, 63.
Miller, John, 172.
Miller, Sarah, 173.
Mix, Jennie L., 159.
Mogulbughititon Creek, 162.
Molegan, Jas., 172.
Monckton, Gen., 215.
"Monongahela Farmer", 120.
Monongahela Navigation Co., 118.
Monongahela River & early transportation, 115-124.
Montour, Alexander, 9, 183.
Moorhead, J. B., 119.
Moorhead, James K., 119.
Morason, James, 165.
Moravians, 16, 18, 21, 69, 180.
Morcey, John, 168.
Morgan, Charles, 127.
Morgan, Gen. Dan., 223.
Morrey, Neal, 170.
Morris, Gov., 184, 215.
Morris, Robert Hunter, 87.
Morrison, John, 127.
Morton, Edward, 70.
Morton, William, 127.
Moser, John, 63.
Mountain, James, 226, 230.
Mowry, Dr. Peter, 228, 230.
Moynton, Wharton & Morgan, 23.
Murfey, John, 165.
Murfey, Patrick, 173.
Murfey, Wm., 166.
Murphy, Michael, 126.

McCord, Samuel, 127.
McCordey, Adam, 171.
McCormick, Dr. S. B., 4, 162.
McCracken, Henry M., 147.
McCrest, Patrick, 172.
McCree, Wm., 129.
McCreatel, Michael, 173.
McCrum, J. M., 139.
McCulley, Geare, 167.
McCurdy, Stewart, C., 159.
McDaniel, Daniel, 169.
McDaniel, John, 168.
McDaniel, Morthuth, 166.
McDeorman, Thos., 169.
McDonald, Alex., 170.
McDonald, John, 170.
McDonald, Lawrence S., 159.
McDorron, Henry, 169.
McDowell, John, 169.
McKiroy, Rev., 142.
McElwain, Hugh, 167.
McFadden, Thomas, 121.
MacFarlane, James, 74, Frasaylwain, Angus, 32-61.
MacFarlane, Capt. Jas., 224.
Mcglohlin, Edward, 167.
McGomery, Nathaniel, 169.
McGreser, John, 169, 170.
McGunnegle, George, 227, 234.
McHenry, Daniel, 172.
McIlwain, Thomas, 132.
McIntosh, Gen., 193, 210.
McIntosh, Sam., 134.
McJunegr, Doming, 170.
McKain, Sam., 63.
McKean, Gov. Thomas, 52, 217, 222.
McKelheven, John, 170.
McKinney, Hoddy, 173.
McKinney, John, 173.
McKinney, John, 209.
McKinney, Alexander, 169.
McKnight, Charles, 163.
McKnight, Charles, 205.
McLandland, Mary, 174.
McIsland, Jas., 172.
McManus, Tom., 63.
McMaster, John, 165.
McMen, Alexander, 165.
McNamgher, John, 159.
McNickey, Alexander, 169.
McPherson, Lagan G., 163.
Mackey, Col. Agness, 217, 212, 220.
Magee, Samuel, 220, 230.
Magee, Thomas, 229, 230.
Maguire, Father, 142.
Marie, James, 229.
Martin, Sam., 67.
Mason, John, 165.
Masters, W., 66.
Mather, Capt. Richard, 219.
May, Capt. John, 116.
Meade, J. M., 152.
Meier, Charley, 63.
Meris, Peter, 65.
Merchants Mechanics, 8.
Merrill, R. E., 160.
Merton, Thomas, 171.
Metzen, Thomas, 172.
Meisner, Jacob, 63.
Meisner, James, 63.
Meisell, Tom, 63.
Milton, Gov., 130, 191, 219, 222, 223, 240.
Mitchelmore, T. Gabel, 32.
Mitchelmore, Harvey, 63.
Mills, of Pennsylvania, 98-106.
Miller, Cam., 63.
Miller, Jacob, 63.
Miller, John, 172.
Miller, Sarah, 171.
Mix, James L., 172.
Mississippi Station (Creek), 192.
Mohegan, Jas., 172.
Montgomery, Gen., 227.
"Montmorenci Harmony", 160.
Montgomery Navigation Co., 124.
Mississippi River, a survey transportation, 117-124.
Mosbier, Alexander, 3, 162.
Mosbier, J. S., 119.
Moorhead, James L., 116.
Morgan, James, 163.
Morganian, 16, 21, 63, 240.
Morgan, John, 165.
Morgan, Charles, 172.
Morgan, Gen. Ben., 223.
Morris, 173.
Morris, 214.
Morris, Lieutenant, 87.
Morrison, Jas., 227.
Morton, Thomas, 70.
Morton, Thomas, 1-7.
Moser, John, 63.
Mountain, James, 228, 229.
Murray, Dr. Peter, 228.
Murphy, William & Morgan, 63.
Murphy, Peter, 165.
Murray, Patrick, 172.
Murray, W., 166.
Murphy, Michael, 164.

Murphy, "Molly", 224.
Murphy, Patrick, 224.
Murphy, Sam., 167.
Myers, Georg, 171.
Myers, Jacob, 165.
Myers, James, 169.

Nape, Henry, 63.
National Road, 118, 119, 122.
Navle, Gast, 171.
Neal, Robert, 172
Nell, John, 170.
Nelles, Wm., 166.
Nemacolin's trail, 115.
Neville, Amelia, 153.
Neville, Gen. John, 153, 202, 216, 222.
Neville, Morgan, 150, 159.
Neville, Col. Presley, 141, 162, 163, 216, 224, 231.
Nevin, Ethelbert, 134.
Nevin, Robert P., 159.
Nevin, Theodore W., 159.
"New Orleans," 2.
Newport, Ann, 156
Nicholson, Joseph, 218.
Nicholson, Thomas, 218, 219.
Nigley, Alexander, 171.
Norman, Rev. J. P., 69, 71.
Northern Central R. R., 48.
Northkill, 189.
Notes and Queries—Naturalization papers of Daniel Hay, 65; Pittsburgh spelled with an "H", 65; Soldiers payroll at Fort Pitt for Jan. 1783, 125; Reminiscences of Wm. Robinson, Jr., 127; *To whiskey* (a poem) by David Bruce, 199; *Whiskey*, (a poem) by H. H. Brackenridge, 201; Invitation to 100th anniversary of capture of Fort Duquesne, 255; Bill concerning custody of property of Harmony Society, 256; Letters of administration on estate of Andrew Ross, 256; Carnegie's farewell letter to Pittsburgh Div. of Pennsylvania R. R. Co., 256.

Ogronderen, Peter, 172.
O'Hara, James, 168.
O'Hara, Col. James, 141, 216, 222, 224.
Ohio Company, 115.
Olcott, Frances J., 160.
Onondaga Council, 182.
Orlady, George B., 4.
Ormsby, John, 216.
Ornsbey, John, 168.
Osburn, Samuel, 171.
Osgood, Capt., 134.
Overline, William, 126.
Ovinger, Fred., 63.
Ovinger, Jacob, 63.

Pacifism, 72.
Page, Oliver Ormsby, 231.
Palmer, Charles, 166.
Parke, John E., 4.
Parker, Thomas, 168.
Parkinson's Ferry, 218.
Parley, James, 126.
Parsons, William, 89.
Patriotic German-American — C. F. W. von Bonnhorst, 107-114.
Patterson, Burd S.—*The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania*. 1-4; 160.
Patterson, Capt. James, 175.
Pattin, John, 23, 194.
Paxtang, 80, 97.
Pedien, Stephen, 167.
Penn, John, 129, 207.
Penn, John Jr., 129, 207.
Penn, William, 5, 6, 72, 77, 129.
Pennsylvania Canal, 39, 49, 50.
Pennsylvania canals, by James Macfarlane, 38-51.
Pennsylvania frontier policy, 5-35, 72-106, 174-198.
Pennsylvania Journal, 116.
Pennsylvania R. R., 46, 48, 50, 122.
Pennsylvania state debt, 41-48.
Perchment, Peter, 170.
Perde, Ensign de la, 209.
Perrey, John, 170.
Perry, George, 63.
Perry, John C., 62.
Perry, Thos., 63.
Perry, Tom., 63.
Perry, W., 63.
Peters, Richard, 187.
Peterson, John, 165.
Philadelphia & Columbia R. R., 40, 43, 46, 49.
Philadelphia & Erie R. R., 47, 48.
Philadelphia & Reading R. R., 50.

Murphy, "Molly", 224.
Murray, Patrick, 224.
Murphy, Sam, 107.
Myers, George, 171.
Myers, Jacob, 165.
Myers, James, 169.

Nape, Henry, 63.
National Road, 119, 120, 122.
Neale, Oscar, 171.
Neal, Robert, 172
Nell, John, 170.
Nelles, Wm., 166.
Nemacolin's trail, 115.
Neville, Amelia, 165.
Neville, Gen. John, 182, 202, 214, 222.
Neville, Morgan, 120, 122.
Neville, Col. Presley, 141, 162, 163, 214, 224, 231.
Nevin, Ethelbert, 184.
Nevin, Robert P., 180.
Nevin, Theodore W., 180.
"New Orleans," 2.
Newport, Ann, 166
Nicholson, Joseph, 218.
Nicholson, Thomas, 218, 219.
Nisley, Alexander, 171.
Noonan, Rev. J. P., 90, 91.
Northern Central R. R., 46.
Northill, 189.
Notes and Queries—Naturalization papers of Daniel Hay, 63; Pittsburgh epidemic with an "E", 65; Soldiers burying at Fort Pitt (in jan. 1763, 125; Reminiscences of Wm. Robinson, Jr., 127; To a lady (a poem), 5; David Bruce, 129; Weather, (a poem) by R. H. Stoneroder, 201; Invitation to 100th anniversary of capture of Fort Duquesne, 232; Bill concerning custody of property of Harmony Society, 236; Letters of administration on estate of Andrew Ross, 238; Carnegie's farewell letter to Pittsburgh Div. of Pennsylvania R. R. Co., 236.

Oppenheim, Peter, 172.
O'Hara, James, 168.
O'Hara, Col. James, 141, 216, 222, 224.
Ohio Company, 118.
Osborn, Frances J., 162.
Osborne, Conrad, 182.
Osbolt, George E., 4.
Oursler, John, 216.
Overbey, Jane, 172.
Oliver, Samuel, 171.
Osgood, Capt., 182.
Overline, William, 168.
Oviatt, Fred, 65.
Oviatt, Jacob, 65.

Pacillas, 72.
Page, Oliver Cromby, 221.
Palmer, Charles, 166.
Parks, Jean S., 4.
Parker, Thomas, 168.
Parkinson's Ferry, 216.
Parry, Jesse, 168.
Parsons, William, 65.
Patterson, Capt. A. W. — C. F. H. Tyrs Bonaparte 167, 111.
Patterson, Brad S.—The Pittsburgh Society of Traders 1-4; 168.
Patterson, Capt. James, 178.
Pattin, Jesse, 50, 164.
Patton, 50, 97.
Patton, Stephen, 167.
Penn, John, 168 224.
Penn, John Jr., 169, 207.
Penn, William, 3, 4, 12, 17, 162, Pennsylvania Canal 40, 46.
Pennsylvania canals, by James Blair, 36-41.
Pennsylvania Turnpike Project, "66, 72-106, 174-198.
Pennsylvania, Journal 216.
Pennsylvania R. R. 40, 46, 36, 108.
Pennsylvania, Blue Book, 41-52.
Pennsylvania Fares, 170.
Penna. Legislature 36, 38.
Perry, John, 170.
Perry, George, 65.
Perry, John C. 65.
Perry, John, 65.
Perry, Thos., 65.
Perry, Jas., 65.
Perry, W., 65.
Peters, Samuel, 167.
Peterson, John, 172.
Philadelphia & Columbia R. R. 40, 47, 50.
Philadelphia & Erie R. R. 46, 48.
Philadelphia & Reading R. R. 46.

Phillips, Dr. Francis C., 134, 147, 159.
Phillips, Frank, 63.
Phillips, Geo., 63.
Phillips, James, 167.
Phillips, John, 125.
Pier, Arthur Stanwood, 160.
Pierce, John, 125.
"Pike", 121.
Pinkerton, Andrew, 52.
Pipetown, 231.
Pitt township, 135, 137, 161, 163, 164.
Pittsburgh, achievements, 144; authors, 149-160; Chamber of Commerce, 146; churches, 207; early Indians, 136; first burying ground, 205-236; fortifications 1863, 59-64; incorporation anniversary, 133-148; population 1790, 140, 161-173; streets, 138, 139, 163, 206, 208; taverns, 139; town meetings, 138.
Pittsburgh authors, by Prof. Horace R. Thayer, 149-160.
Pittsburgh Blues, 223.
Pittsburgh newspapers of Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, 252-254.
Pittsburgh Coal Co., 62.
Pittsburgh fortifications in 1863, 59-64.
Pittsburgh spelled with an "H", 65.
"Pittsburgh town'", 163, 164.
Pittsburgh's first burying ground, by C. W. Dahlinger, 205-236.
Pittsburgh's 125th anniversary of incorporation, 133-148.
"Ploughman", 121.
Plum township, 162, 164.
Plumer, Charles, 172.
Points, John, 168.
Polhemus, 190.
Ponteny, George, 166.
Pontiac, 210.
Pontiac's war, 27, 76, 94, 97, 181, 185.
Poole, Emma D., 2.
Poor, Benj., 167.
Poor, Esly, 167.
Poor, James, 167.
Poparde, James, 169.
Population of Pittsburgh . . . U. S. Census 1790, 161-173.
Portage Railroad, 40, 43, 46, 49.
Post, Christian, 194.
Potts, Rosanna, 168.
Powle, Agnes, 170.
Powle, Malachi, 169.
Presbyterian church, Pittsburgh, 207, 212, 225.
Price, William, 231.

Quakers & the Indians, 5, 72, 174.
Quigg, Geo., 63.
Quigley, Hugh, 166.

"Ranger", 121.
Read, James, 172.
Realf, Richard, 153, 159.
Rector, Chas., 167.
Red Pole, 213.
"Redstone Old Fort", 116.
Reed, Joseph, 187.
Repine, Mary, 165.
Reyon, Jacob, 171.
Rhodes, Albert, 159.
Rhodes, Frederic A., 159.
Rhodes, Pete Jr., 63.
Rhodes, Pete Sr., 63.
Richard, Henry, 165.
Richardson, John, 125.
Richerd, Charles, 165.
Richey, John, 172.
Riggs, William, 70.
Rihne, James, 169.
Rihne, Wm., 169.
Riley, John, 126.
Rinehart, Mary R., 160.
"Roaring Hyder Ali", 214.
Robbins, Gregory S., 159.
Roberts, Judge Samuel, 226.
Robertson, 10.
Robertson, Andrew, 165.
Robertson, George, 165.
Robertson, Morgan, 119.
Robeson, James, 172.
Robeson, Peter, 173.
Robinson, George, 226, 230.
Robinson, James, 166.
Robinson, John, 125.
Robinson, William Jr., 127.
Rock, John, 126.
Rodgers, Thomas L., 4.
Rogues Railroad, 45.
Roleter, Peter, 169.
Roodarmer, John, 170.
Rooss, Taffey, 171.
Rooss, Thos., 170.
Roper, Stephen, 173.

Phillips, Dr. Francis C., 134, 147, 150.
Phillips, Frank, 63.
Phillips, Geo., 65.
Phillips, James, 187.
Phillips, John, 128.
Pier, Arthur Eastwood, 160.
Pierce, John, 125.
"Pies", 121.
Pinkerton, Andrew, 22.
Pipetown, 221.
Pitt township, 135, 137, 181, 185, 164.
Pittsburgh, achievements, 144; authors, 147-160; Chamber of Commerce, 146; churches, 207; early Indians, 129; first burying ground, 226-230; fortifications (1763), 56-64; incorporation anniversary, 133-134; population (1790), 140, 181-172; streets, 139, 155, 165, 205, 206; taverns, 139; town meetings, 134.
Pittsburgh, analyzes, by Prof. Horace R. Thayer, 149-150.
Pittsburgh Bears, 328.
Pittsburgh newspapers of Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, 220-221.
Pittsburgh Gas Co., 62.
Pittsburgh fortifications in (1763), 55-64.
Pittsburgh spelled with an "H", 62.
"Pittsburgh town", 163, 164.
Pittsburgh's first [illegible] proved, by C. W. Dahlinger, 220-226.
Pittsburgh's 123th anniversary of incorporation, 133-134.
"Plugtown", 121.
Plum township, 162, 164.
Plumer, Charles, 172.
Points, John, 128.
Pollenca, 180.
Portage, Geneva, 166.
Portier, 210.
Portier's war, 57, 78, 84, 97, 121, 122.
Pose, Louis D., 3.
Poor, Benj., 187.
Poor, Lady, 187.
Poor, James, 187.
Porterfield, James, 162.
Population of Pittsburgh [illegible] 3.
Porter, Cyrus, 191-192.
Porter, Rufus, 60, 42, 46, 48.
Post, Christian, 106.
Potts, Thomas, 162.
Powell, Alexander, 170.
Powell, Mabel, 170.
Presbyterian church, Pittsburgh, 207, 222, 223.
Price, William, 202.

Quakers in the Indians, 3, 72, 171.
Quarter, Geo., 62.
Quigley, Hugh, 162.

"Rangers", 121.
Rand, James, 172.
Rankin, Robert, 152, 156.
Rector, Chas., 161.
Red Jacket, 272.
"Redcoats, Old Fort", 116.
Reed, Joseph, 186.
Reynolds, Mary, 165.
Reeves, Jacob, 171.
Rhodes, Abner, 126.
Rhodes, Francis, A., 126.
Rhodes, Pete Jr., 62.
Rhodes, Pete Sr., 62.
Richard, Thomas, 16.
Richardson, Jacob, 126.
Richey, Charles, 162.
Richey, John, 171.
Rigsby, William, 62.
Rigsby, Jesse, 62.
Robinson, Mary S., 160.
"Roaring River, Ark", 214.
Robinson, Thomas A., 126.
Roberts, Walter Edmund, 326.
Robertson, 10.
Robinson, Andrew, 165.
Robertson, George, 165.
Robertson, Thomas, 172.
Robinson, James, 172.
Robinson, Jesse, 172.
Robinson, George, 225, 226.
Robinson, James, 162.
Robinson, Peter, 162.
Robinson, William Jr., 127.
Rock, John, 126.
Rodgers, Thomas L., 3.
Rogers Settlement 26.
Roosevelt Fort, 160.
Roosevelt, John, 170.
Rosser, Lewis, 171.
Rose, Thos., 170.
Roper, Stephen, 172.
Rorbaugh Rufus, 60, 42, 46, 48.
Ross, Christian, 106.
Ruth, Thomas, 162.
Rowell, Alexander, 170.
Rowell, Mabel, 170.
Presbyterian church, Pittsburgh, 207, 222, 223.
Price, William, 202.

Rose, John, 125.
Rosemeier, Fred., 63.
Ross, Alexander, 186.
Ross, Andrew, 256.
Ross, Sen. Jas., 140, 224, 225.
"Royal", 121.
Royal Independent Co., 217.
Royall, Mrs. Anne, 155, 159, 231.
Royall, Capt. William, 156.
Rusel, James, 169.
Russ, Abm., 167.
Ryce, James, 166.

Safoot, Henry, 63.
Safoot, Philip, 63.
St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, 81, 129, 136, 222, 223, 242, 247.
St. John's Church, 69.
St. Paul's Church, 69.
St. Thomas' Protestant Episcopal Church of Washington County, by C. W. Dahlinger, 69-71.
Salamon, Thomas, 171.
Sample, James, 167.
Sample, James T., 4.
Sample, Samuel, 168.
Sample, Capt. Sam., 219.
Sample, Mrs. Sarah, 219.
Sampson, Margaret, 167.
Sampson, Thomas, 170.
Sans, Thos., 169.
Saven, Ann, 165.
Savoron, David, 165.
Schaff, David S., 159.
Schnable, George, 119.
Schrack, Jacob, 64.
Schuykill Navigation Co., 50.
Scot, John, 172.
Scot, Wm., 171.
Scott, H. B., 159.
Scott, Walter, 159.
Scott, Walter D., 159.
Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, 18.
Scovel, C. W., 134.
Scovel, Rev. S. F., 233.
Scull, John, 140, 141, 168.
Second Pennsylvania Battalion, 220.
Seibel, George, 160.
Semerman, Jacob, 171.
Semindinger, F., 63.
Serlat, Mickles, 171.
Sevron, John, 171.
Shackly, Dan'l., 63.
Shaler, Judge Charles, 228.
Shaler, Louisa Amelia, 228, 230.
"Shannon", 121.
Shaw, Alexander, 168.
Shaw, John, 170.
Shaw, Peter, 170.
Shawanese, 12.
Shea, John, 125.
Sheedy, Morgan W., 159.
Sheldon, Robert E., 159.
Sheper, John, 165.
Shephard, Edward, 125.
Sherg, Jacob, 63.
Sherlat, Exekiel, 171.
Shippen, Edward, 88.
Shippen, Joseph, 103.
Shiras, Charles P., 23, 159, 229, 234.
Shirley, Gen., 79, 184, 185.
Shuster, Jacob, 64.
"Sidney", 244, 247.
"Sign of General Butler", 224.
Signney, Stephen, 168.
Simms, Mrs. Emily Morgan, 231, 236.
Simms, Col. W. D., 231.
Sims, Chs., 63.
Siple, Adolph, 63.
Siviter, Anna P., 159, 160.
Six Nations, 12, 218, 219.
Skinner, Henry, 126.
Smilie, John, 245.
Smith, Debrick, 171.
Smith, Fred., 63.
Smith, Geo., 63.
Smith, Henry, 165.
Smith, Isaac, 63.
Smith, John, 64.
Smith, John, 168.
Smith, Mason, 169.
Smith, Robert, 165.
Smith, Sydney, 44.
Smith, William, 63.
Smith, Provost William, 104.
Snowden, James H., 159.
Snowden, James Ross, 45.
Snyder, Gov., 217.
Society of the United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, 18.
Soldiers' payroll at Fort Pitt, 125-127.
Songser, Matthias, 166.
Soon, Philip, 63.
Spear, John, 126.
Springer, Jacob, 70.
Stackpole, James, 125.
Stanwix, Gen., 185.
Steele, Rev. Robert, 225, 230.
Stell, Jacob, 171.

Ross, John, 123.
Rosenauer, Fred, 62.
Ross, Alexander, 186.
Ross, Andrew, 266.
Ross, Sam, Jas., 140, 224, 226.
"Royal", 181.
Royal Independent Co., 217.
Royall, Mrs. Anne, 183, 185, 231.
Royall, Capt. William, 182.
Russel, James, 169.
Russ, Adm., 187.
Ryce, James, 166.

Sadoes, Henry, 62.
Sadoet, Philip, 62.
St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, 81, 129, 136, 223, 232, 242, 247.
St. John's Church, 69.
St. Paul's Church, 69.
St. Thomas' Protestant Episcopal Church, of Washington County, by C. W. Dahlinger, 69-71.
Salmon, Thomas, 171.
Sample, James, 167.
Sample, James T., 4.
Sample, Samuel, 183.
Sample, Capt. Sam, 219.
Sample, Mrs. Sarah, 219.
Sampson, Margaret, 167.
Sampson, Thomas, 172.
Sam, Tom, 183.
Sawan, Ann, 183.
Savoren, David, 169.
Schad, David S., 169.
Schnable, George, 119.
Schrack, Jacob, 64.
Schuylkill Navigation Co., 80.
Scot, John, 172.
Scot, Wm., 171.
Scott, H. B., 169.
Scott, Walter, 180.
Scott, Walter D., 169.
Scottish Society for Propagating the Christian Knowledge, 14.
Scovel, C. W., 184.
Scovel, Rev. S. F., 181.
Scull, John, 140, 141, 168.
Second Pennsylvania Battalion, 220.
Seibel, George, 169.
Semerman, Jacob, 171.
Seminiger, F., 62.
Serlat, Hilaire, 171.
Severn, John, 171.
Shaeff, Paul, 64.
Shaler, Judge Charles, 224.
Shaler, Lucian Arnold, 224, 229.
"Shannon", 171.
Shaw, Alexander, 168.
Shaw, John, 170.
Shaw, Peter, 170.
Shawnees, 12.
Shea, John, 183.
Sheely, Morgan W., 169.
Sheldon, Robert R., 169.
Sheper, John, 185.
Shepherd, Edward, 172.
Shere, Jacob, 65.
Sherlat, Rachel, 171.
Shipped, Edward, 68.
Shippen, Joseph, 103.
Shirer, Charles P., 23, 169, 222, 224.
Shirley, Gen., 78, 184, 185.
Shuster, Jacob, 64.
"Sidney", 244, 247.
"Sign of Cesarea Dudar", 234.
Signney, Stephen, 183.
Simms, Mrs. Emily Morgan, 231, 236.
Simcis, Col. W. D., 231.
Sims, Chas., 64.
Sigle, Adolph, 62.
Silver, Anna P., 169, 169.
Six Nations, 12, 212, 216.
Skinner, Henry, 128.
Smith, John, 240.
Smith, Dennis, 171.
Smith, Fred, 63.
Smith, Geo., 63.
Smith, Hiram, 169.
Smith, Isaac, 63.
Smith, Jacob, 64.
Smith, John, 168.
Smith, Joseph, 169.
Smith, Robert, 169.
Smith, Sydney, 14.
Smith, William, 63.
Smith, Thomas, Williams, 124.
Snowden, James H., 184.
Snowden, Jr. Jas. Ewan, 42.
Society, the, 217.
Society of the United Friends for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, 16.
Soldiers' Bounty at Fort Pitt, 182-183.
Somers, William, 364.
Soon, Philip, 65.
Speer, John, 128.
Springer, Jacob, 77.
Stanley, James, 168.
Stanley, John, 184.
Steele, Robert, 168, 169.
Steel, James, 171.

Stephenson, George, 40.
Stevens, Thaddeus, 42, 243.
Stevens, Thomas W., 160.
Stevenson, Dr. George, 141.
Stevenson, James S., 229, 234.
Stevenson, William H., 4, 133.
Stiley, Merton, 171.
Stockbridge tribe, 20.
Stockton, Joseph, 150.
Stone, Charles, 63.
Stone, Jacob, 63.
Stranathan, May, 159, 160.
Streets, John, 168.
Strutt, Edw., 167.
Stump, Frederick, 10, 13.
Sullivan, Gen. John, 195.
Sullivan, Mary, 160.
Sunbury & Erie R. R. Co., 47.
Sunstine, David R., 159.
Susquehanna Canal, 50.
Swainey, Daniel, 167.
Swank, James M., 159.
Swatara, 80.
Swift, Rev. 142.
Swindling Swamp, 45.
Swisshelm, Jane Grey, 159, 232.

Taft, William H., 2.
Talihiao, 179.
Tanahill, Adamson, 168.
Tanahill, Josiah, 168.
Tannehill, Gen. Adamson, 222.
Tassey, John, 159.
Taylor, Charles J., 159.
Taylor, Rev. John, 228.
Taylor, Sam., 166.
Taylor, Mrs. Susanna, 228.
Teedyuscung, 20.
Thaw, Alexander B., 159.
Thaw, William, 148.
Thayer, Horace R., *Pittsburgh Authors*, 149-160.
Thomas, Elias, 167.
Thomas, Gov. George, 25, 78, 83, 84.
Thomas, Henry, 173.
Thomas, Thos., 64.
Thomas, W. S., 159.
Thompson, George, 173.
Thompson, Jas., 64.
Thompson, John, 170.
Thompson, Vance, 134.
Thompson, William, 186.
Thornhill, James, 167.
Thornton, Patrick, 126.
Thorpe, Francis N., 159.
Thurston, George Henry, 159.
To whiskey, by David Bruce, 199.
Toones, George, 64.
Torner, John, 170.
Transportation, 38-51, 115-124.
"Traveller", 121.
Trent, Capt., 115.
Trimble, Alexander, 169.
Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, 207, 212, 213, 214, 215, 233, 235.
Trinks, C. L., 159.
"Triton", 217.
Tucker, "Rory", 134.
Turnbull, Will., 164.
Turner, John, 218.
Turnpike, 38.
Twightwees, 9, 10.

United States Bank, 41, 42, 119.
Union Canal, 50.
University of Pittsburgh, 147.
Uphold, Rev. George, 3, 208, 214.

Veech, James, 3.
Versailles township, 162, 164.
Vietmeir, John, 64.
Virgin alley, 206, 208, 213.
Volz, Carl L., 107.
Volz, Ferdinand, 107.
Von Bonnhorst, Chas. F. W., 107, 229.
Von Bonnhorst, George M., 107.
Von Bonnhorst, Sidney F., 107.
Von Bonnhorst, William E., 107.

Wachel, John, 171.
Wade, Abbie A., 159.
Wadsworth, M. E., 159.
Waitfeild, Matthew, 166.
Wales, Dr. Roger, 53.
Walker, Capt., 106.
Walker, Daniel, 166.
Walker, Edward, 126.
Walker, John, 120.
Walker, W. H., 159.
Walker's Bar., 120.
Walking Purchase, 12, 15.
Walles, George, 168.
Walter, Geo., 64.
Walter, John, 172.
Ward, Moses, 125.
Washington, George, 115, 177, 217, 218, 219, 249.
Watson, Andrew, 138.
Watson, Andrew, 168.
Watson, David, 165.
Wattles, Willard, *An Indian love song*, 239.

Stephenson, George, 40.
Stevens, Theodore, 42, 212.
Stevens, Thomas W., 180.
Stevenson, Dr. George, 141.
Stevenson, James S., 229, 234.
Stevenson, William H., 4, 189.
Stiley, Merton, 171.
Stockbridge's tribe, 20.
Stockton, Joseph, 180.
Stone, Charles, 62.
Stone, Jacob, 63.
Stranahan, Mrs., 189, 190.
Streeta, John, 188.
Strutt, Edw., 197.
Stump, Frederick, 10, 12.
Sullivan, Gen. John, 108.
Sullivan, Mary, 180.
Sunbury & Erie R. R. Co., 47.
Sunstine, David R., 189.
Susquehanna Canal, 65.
Swainey, Daniel, 197.
Swank, James M., 180.
Swatara, 80.
Swift, Rev. 142.
Swinging Bridge, 46.
Swisshelm, Jane Grey, 180, 222.

Taft, William H., 2.
Tailing, 179.
Tanehill, Adamson, 188.
Tanehill, Josiah, 188.
Tanehill, Gen. Adamson, 222.
Tassey, John, 189.
Taylor, Charles J., 189.
Taylor, Rev. John, 228.
Taylor, Sam, 188.
Taylor, Mrs. Susanna, 228.
Teedyuscung, 20.
Thaw, Alexander B., 189.
Thaw, William, 148.
Thayer, Hiram R., Pittsburgh Auditor, 149-150.
Thomas, Miss, 197.
Thomas, [illegible] George, 58, 78, 83, 84.
Thomas, Henry, 172.
Thomas, [illegible] 64.
Thomas, [illegible] 30.
Thompson, George, 172.
Thompson, Jas., 64.
Thompson, John, 179.
Thompson, Wm., 184.
Thompson, William, 189.
Thornhill, James, 187.
Thornton, Patrick, 188.
Thorp, [illegible]
Thurston, [illegible]
Tilghman, by David Brown, 180.
Tissue, George, 64.
Torner, John, 176.
Transportation, 39-51, 118-121.
"Traveller", 181.
Trees-Cars, 115.
Trimble, Alexander, 189.
Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, 207, 212, 215, 216, 225, 226.
Trines, C. L., 189.
"Triton", 212.
Trotter, George, 184.
Trumbull, Will, 184.
Turner, John, 212.
Turnpike, 32.
Twigtown, 9, 10.

United States Bank, 41, 42, 118.
Union Canal, 65.
University of Pittsburgh, 147.
Upshur, Rev. George, [illegible]

Vanek, James, 3.
Verre Isle township, 188, 194.
Vistner, John, 64.
Virginia alley, 206, 208, 213.
Voit, Carl L., 187.
Volz, Ferdinand, 187.
Von Dornforal, Chas. F. W., 187, 188.
Von Hasselbarg, George H., 187.
Von Donnersmarck, Sidney F., 187.
Von Donnersmarck, William E., 187.

Wachel, John, 197.
Wade, Abbie A., 189.
Wadsworth, M. E., 189.
Wakefield, Matthew, 189.
Wales, Dr. Roger, 63.
Walker, Capt. 189.
Walker, Daniel, 189.
Walker, Edward, 189.
Walker, John, 189.
Walker, N. H., 189.
Walker's Bar, 189.
Walking Purchase, 18, 19.
Waller, George, 189.
Walter, Geo., 64.
Walter, John, 172.
Ward, Moses, 189.
Washington, George, 116, 177, 217, 218, 219, 220.
Watson, Francis, 189.
Watson, Andrew, 189.
Watson, David, 189.
Watties, William, [illegible]
[illegible] 208.

Wayne, Gen. Anthony, 129, 137.
Webster, Dr. H. J., 147.
Webster, Homer J., 159.
Wehn, Henry, 64.
Weihe, Wm., 64.
Weiser, Conrad, 9, 11, 12, 34, 85, 182, 183.
Welch, George, 169.
Wells, Benjamin F., 202.
Welsh, Jonathan, 125.
Wensel, John, 64.
West, Jonathan, 69.
West, Thomas, 70.
West Branch Canal, 42.
West Penn R. R., 49.
Westaff, William, 168.
Western University of Pennsylvania, 147.
Whipple, Guy M., 159.
Whiskey, by H. H. Brackenridge, 201.
Whiskey Insurrection, 218, 220, 245.
White, John, 169.
White, Joseph, 173.
White, Wm., 170.
Whitiason, John, 168.
Whitsel, Jacob, 170.
Wilbert, Crist, 64.
Wilbert, Peter, 64.
Wilbraham, H., 64.
Wile, Adolph, 64.
Wile, Math., 64.
Wiley, Thos., 165, 168.
Wilkason, John, 168.
Wilkeson, John, 165.
Wilkins, John, 219.
Wilkins, John Sr., 224.
Wilkins, Gen. John., 220, 224.
Wilkins, W. G., 4.
Wilkins, Hon. William, 127.
Wilkinson, Elizabeth H., 159, 160.
Wilkison, Angus, 167.
Williams, Aaron, 159.
Williams, Charles, 25.
Williams, James, 169, 172.
Willison, Gilbraith, 126.
Willock, Andrew, 169.
Wilson, Colbreath, 171.
Willson, Elisabeth, 170.
Willson, Willm., 168.
Wilson, Erasmus, 4, 150, 155, 159.
Wilson, Thomas, 167.
Wilson, William, 23.
Windbiddle, Conrod, 168.
Windebedle, Conrad, 171.
Winters, Stephen, 125.
Wise, Barbara, 171.
Wistar, Gen. Isaac J., 50.
Witiason, Wm., 168.
Wolf, George, 229.
Wolf, Henry, 165.
Womelsdorf, 11.
Wood, Joseph, 126.
Woodman, John, 126.
Woods, Dr., 134.
Woods, Edward, 134.
Woods, Ezra M., 159.
Woods, George, 163.
Woods, Dr. George, 147.
Woods, William, 126.
Wrenshall, Rev. John, 225, 230.
Wyoming Valley, 81.

Yayler, Wm., 172.
Youghiogheny Navigation Co., 122.
Youghiogheny River, 117, 123.
Youlan, Mark, 172.
Youland, John, 172.
Young, James, 103, 189.
Young, Wm., 64.

Zeila, John, 64.
Zeisberger, 26, 33.

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